

LABOR AGE

THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

The Industrial Depression

George Soule

Harry W. Laidler

"Business is Good"

A Survey

Critic or Lackey of Big Business?

Labor's Position in 1930

A. J. Muste

New Features

LABOR AGE

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IN THIS ISSUE

FEW people have the good fortune to live to see their prophecies realized, especially when such prophecy deals with the large problems of American economic life. In "The Industrial Depression," George Soule of the Editorial staff of the NEW REPUBLIC, relates how he foretold last February what occurred in November and then proceeds to draw a lesson therefrom. His story, together with that of "Hard Times—A Social Responsibility" by Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, are based on a discussion which took place at a meeting of the New York Branch of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

HOW good is good? It all depends upon the point of view. To the manufacturer who before the stock crash was earning two hundred thousand dollars a year, business is less than very good but still good if his earnings were reduced to one hundred thousand dollars annually. To the worker who lost his job, or is working three days a week, "Business Is Good" assumes an entirely different aspect. Under this title an attempt is made to obtain a picture of business through the eyes of the workers themselves. Seven cities pass for review, after which the billboard signs lack significance.

LABOR strategy is a term used for manouevering labor in the best position possible for bargaining advantages. Has the American Federation of Labor made the most possible use of its opportunities in the immediate past and is there any hope of a revival in the near future? "Critic or Lackey of Big Business," by A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, evaluates the labor strategy of the A. F. of L. and calls for a militant policy by Labor in the coming year.

FEW people, with the exception of those in the ranks of labor, have had as much experience observing the "rigid adherence to the tenets of the Constitution" as Louis Francis Budenz, Managing Editor of LABOR AGE. Out of days spent in organizing picket lines and beating the "law" of the bosses comes "The Law of the Profits," a laboratory analysis of what is law and who it is for.

IF you are interested in the spread of the progressive idea in this pagan land you will enjoy reading "C. P. L. A. Activities Extended." In spite of the fact that its title is repetitious the article contains "new stuff."

FLASHES from the Labor World" is, as usual, a snappy review in brief paragraphs of news events affecting industry and labor by Harvey O'Connor, of the Federated Press.

THE machine moves on relentlessly, leaving unemployment, suffering and crushed lives in its wake. Our new department, "The March of the Machine," conducted by Justus Ebert, Editor of the LITHOGRAPHERS' JOURNAL, details the advance of this mechanical monster. Grim as it is, the story is not entirely devoid of the saving grace of light laughter. "Even an army of destruction," Ebert suggests, "marches not only on its belly but with a sense of humor."

IN "Santa Visits Marion," W. Walter Ludwig, Executive Secretary of Pioneer Youth, relates how Santa had to be imported from the North to give the Kiddies of the Marion Mill Village a Merry Christmas. To be very honest, Walter Ludwig was the Santa.

EDUCATION in Soviet Russia and eight years of labor banking in the United States are subjects of two of the books reviewed in this issue.

AND then, the reader is invited to a tour of foreign countries where kings and men disport themselves in ways that are strange yet similar. "In Other Lands" reviews important foreign events by Patrick Quinlan wherever things happen. Quinlan knows his British politics in particular, and many of his previous prognostications have been fulfilled.

In The February Issue

The problem of the Negro worker and the labor movement, which must be successfully dealt with in any general organization drive, will be discussed by Dr. Abram L. Harris, of Howard University, one of the foremost Negro leaders, and others.

· LABOR · AGE ·

January, 1930

EDITORIALS

THE question uppermost in the minds of labor in particular and the public in general is, what does the recent stock crash pretend? On every hand heroic efforts are being made to lull the public into a condition of mental security. Newspapers are unwilling to open their columns to any reports of production restrictions or to conditions of widespread unemployment. Public pronouncements breathe assurances of stabilized industry. Even the billboards are utilized to keep before the people the idea of continuing good times.

Yet the most casual observation leads one to conclude that something has happened to whatever prosperity existed during the past six or seven years. There are numerous signs of slackening of production and a consequent increase in unemployment. President Hoover's last minute efforts to prevent an industrial depression may have some value at some future period but is of no practical use at the present moment. Every one is agreed that the much heralded building program, even if carried through as reported, cannot actually be introduced before next spring, if as early as then. Meanwhile building is at a virtual standstill, the automobile industry is deflated, textiles are in the dumps, and the coal industry is "shot." Is business good?

LABOR AGE, in this issue, devotes much of its space to a discussion of this problem. Is the Wall Street deflation just a flash in the pan without particular effect upon the industrial life of the country as a whole or is it the cause or effect of a period of industrial depression? Is unemployment more serious now than it has been in the immediate past and are the future prospects hopeful? In this crisis, what is the organized labor movement doing, either to forestall more serious deflation, to urge policies for the prevention of recurrence of future depressions, or to socialize the evil effects of depressions so that the burden does not fall entirely on the shoulders of the producers?

These are some of the questions the readers will find answer to in the following pages of this number. In addition, we here take the opportunity to call attention to the change in **LABOR AGE**, which we hope, will enhance its attractiveness and therefore its interest and value. The new form is somewhat larger than that of the old publication; the narrower columns permit easier reading and better display of illustrations. The additional space given over to editorials and the new departments introduced will tie the magazine closer to the important events on the industrial and political fields as they occur.

We hope our readers will like the changes instituted. Our purpose is thereby to serve better the progressive cause to the end that a militant, well-rounded and socially-minded labor movement be developed in this country.

THERE is an encouraging contrast between the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union held in Boston, 1928, and the convention at Cleveland held last month. At the Boston convention the International was merely the skeleton of its former powerful self. Factional strife had virtually destroyed it. Rancor and discord divided the delegates and the union's leadership. Its friends and foes considered it doomed beyond recovery.

Nineteen months later, the representatives of the International met at Cleveland to celebrate its "rebirth." It was a "jubilation convention" at which there was great rejoicing over the significant victorious strike recently concluded in the cloak industry in New York City. Leaders and delegates were happily united in spirit and action. Factional strife had disappeared. The Communist opposition union had become practically extinct. Militant and progressive measures were passed which, if carried out, will again place the International in the vanguard of labor organizations in America.

Resolutions to carry on extensive organization work throughout the country and to call strikes in the various garment centers, to endorse old age pensions and unemployment insurance, were passed amidst great enthusiasm. A definite stand for independent political action and for the creation of an American Labor Party was unanimously voted, in the face of Matthew Woll's defense of the A. F. of L.'s time honored non-partisan political policy. The convention also voted to amend the constitution providing for the election of the President, Secretary and Vice-Presidents through referendum, instead of at conventions as heretofore. It provided for bigger representation of the larger locals at conventions. These measures are in line with the traditional progressivism of the International.

On the other hand, amidst the joy of successful rebuilding, the officers and delegates in thankful mood were too indiscriminate in their praise. The convention deemed it advisable to send telegrams to the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the State of New York, and to his "excellency," Jimmy Walker, Mayor of New York City, thanking them for their services in the recent cloakmakers' strike. True, the Governor was of great help in speeding up the strike settlement and the Lieutenant Governor was particularly helpful in assisting the union to gain certain favorable concessions, which the union could have secured through its own efforts. But a resolution of appreciation had already been passed by the shop chairmen and printed in the report of the General Executive Board to the convention. Why was it necessary to reinforce this with telegrams? And why the telegram of thanks to his honor Mayor Walker? He had done nothing to help except to affix his

What of the Future?

I.L.G.W.U. Rebuilds

signature to the collective agreement before clicking cameras. His police force had been active as usual in arresting strikers. Certainly the leaders of the International know that they cannot expect assistance from Tammany Hall in their future struggles with employers.

Of a similar dubious nature, it seems to us, was the featuring of two Republican Party politicians, the Mayor of Cleveland and the Governor of the State of Ohio, as speakers at the opening session of the convention. Perhaps this suggests that the Socialist Party should conduct an educational campaign among the cloak and dressmakers, members of this "Socialist" union, driving home the lesson that old party politicians do favors for unions only in expectation of receiving greater favors in return, and that the only sure dependence of the worker is in active and consistent participation in independent political action, and not merely in passing resolutions.

Nevertheless the Cleveland convention shows that the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union is finding itself, and is returning to those militant measures which have made it a great union in the past and will, if persisted in, reestablish its supremacy in the women's garment industry and in the American labor world.

THE elevation of H. H. Broach to the presidency of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers is significant. As vice-president, this energetic young leader

Broach's Wider Opportunities

attracted nation-wide attention by the courageous and determined manner in which he cleaned out the Augean stables of Local 3 in New York. Broach's shrewdness was also responsible for hastening the advent of the five-day week in the New York building trades.

It is quite unlikely that the new president of the electrical workers will want to rest on his laurels. Such a spirited and resourceful leader will undoubtedly seek new worlds to conquer. Whether the New York situation is in such shape that he can afford to let go of the reins, however, is another question. The exigencies of the situation, the fight against corruption and inefficiency, may have required strong measures, but a union cannot operate indefinitely through iron handed leadership. A wise leader will want to see young, progressive men trained to take the helm when it becomes necessary for him to leave in order to handle other situations. This raises the question of workers education, which has perhaps been neglected in Local 3. If the evils from which the local union suffered in the past are not to return, it will be necessary for Broach to get classes in genuine workers education started for the younger members while they are at the same time being trained vocationally.

The new president should be free to tackle other fields for important reasons. As is well known, the electrical workers union's greatest strength is in the building industry. Elsewhere it has to contend with such notorious open shop corporations as the General Electric, the New York Edison, Western Electric and New York Telephone, and against their company unionizing tactics the union has remained practically impotent. We should like to see the union under Broach's leadership undertake the unionization of these open shop strongholds. They can be stormed and won for unionism. But the Electrical Workers will not be able to do the job alone. Not only will it require a well planned organization effort, but an educational campaign will have to be carried on in the communities affected and

tactics pursued similar to those of the Hosiery Workers in Kenosha, Wis., and Nazareth, Pa. The citizens of Schenectady, N. Y., Lynn, Mass., and other places should be made acquainted with the slave-like conditions under which the workers are employed, and they should receive union literature regularly so that when the revolt comes the union will receive strong support from them.

As long as President Broach's efforts will be concentrated on the problems of the building trades locals, important as they may be, we shall hear from time to time of clean-ups here and there and of some successes affecting a limited number of workers. If on the other hand he wishes to make a contribution to the labor movement that may result in writing his name indelibly on the pages of American labor history he should without delay accept the challenge of reaction, put on his armor and with sword in hand go out to fight the dragon of open shoppery where it reigns supreme—in the public utilities. In such a struggle he will be able to count upon the wholehearted support of every laborite who wants to see the slogan "organize the unorganized" made a reality.

INTERNATIONAL officials, organizers and system board chairmen of a big international union in conference for four days—not engaged in patting each other on

Intelligent Leadership

the back but pointing out weaknesses and mistakes in each other's plans and activities, as well as the strong points; not fatuously boasting about what a wonderful labor movement we have but inquiring just how practically it could be made a more effective movement; not afraid of "intellectuals" and "experts" or hostile to them or toadying to them, but actually inviting these "horrible" beings to sit down and talk things over man to man; one session lasting from one-thirty in the afternoon until after six and no one grumbling or falling asleep; not a "red" among them and hardly a "foreigner," plain garden variety American citizens actually born right here in these United States, but with clear, open, fearless minds!

Hold on brother, is this a Freudian dream where all things come true that are impossible during waking hours or is it just a plain case of bugs?

Not at all. This is factual stuff which LABOR AGE is reporting. President George Harrison of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, under whose leadership that organization has enrolled no less than 30,000 new members in less than a year, called just such a conference as was pictured above. It was held at the union's general headquarters in Cincinnati, on December 16-19 inclusive. It was a brilliant success and so important an experiment in sound, practical workers education that LABOR AGE will give its readers a detailed account of the proceedings in the February issue.

Among the speakers and discussion leaders who took part in this fact finding gathering were included Donald Richberg, noted railroad labor attorney, President Green of the American Federation of Labor, Gilbert Hyatt of LABOR, Frank Rosenblum, manager of the western organization department of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, A. J. Muste, whose titles and affiliations readers of this magazine are familiar with, and Prof. Wm. M. Leiserson, authority on arbitration in labor disputes.

Incidentally, in addition to Muste, a number of other Brookwooders participated in the conference. Sitting around the table were Phil Ziegler, Editor of the RAILWAY CLERK'S JOURNAL and a Brookwood director, Eli Oliver, former Brookwood instructor and now in charge of the

union's research department, Chas. V. Maute, President of the New York Central Clerks local in New York City, Glenn Atkinson, assistant in the research department, both Brookwood graduates, and Vice-President Harry Chapman and General Chairman Jack Robinson who have attended summer institutes at Katonah.

As practical educational projects, the readers are invited to a comparison of the wordy New England Congress, reported in last month's *LABOR AGE*, where almost any one that could have any definite contribution to make was meticulously excluded, with this meeting of labor minds, which will be described in the forthcoming issue.

WHERE does organized labor stand on the question of old age pensions? At the last convention of the A. F. of L., organized labor in America declared its determination to push this legislation with all its might and vigor. The resolution urging such action was adopted with but one dissenting vote. The State Federations of Labor

Woll Must Resign From Civic Federation

have for many years carried on active campaigns for such laws in their respective states.

The position of Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the A. F. of L., in regard to old age pension legislation, however, has become even more tenuous since the action of the Toronto convention than before. At this convention Woll made the most vigorous speech in behalf of the resolution and declared that he has always been in favor of such legislation. We do not in the slightest wish to question the sincerity of this statement. But he continues to act as president of the National Civic Federation, the leading open opponent to old age pension legislation in the land.

The representatives of the Civic Federation do not let an opportunity go by in their efforts to prevent the granting of self-respecting pensions to worn-out toilers. They are constantly urging that the poorhouses are good enough for them. The recent hearings before the New York Commission on Old Age Security brought out in clear relief the inconsistency of Matthew Woll's position in this matter. As against the president of the New York State Federation of Labor, a committee of the Central Trades and Labor Council and numerous delegates from labor unions who appeared to advocate the enactment of a law by the 1930 New York legislature, the representatives of the National Civic Federation continued their old harangue of misrepresentation and attacks upon the law. Moreover, the work of this group has become even more under-handed and insidious.

The Civic Federation is obviously not abiding by their president's instructions, not to fight this legislation. It is true that one of the Federation's representatives in opening his speech against such a law, stated that he was speaking merely as an individual. However, he was invited as the representative of the Civic Federation, submitted a statement in its behalf, and would have never been invited to take up the Commission's valuable time if he had only himself to represent. While this gentleman and a lady from the Federation took up more than an hour of the Commission's time, many representatives of labor were unable to obtain the floor because of the lack of time. The Federation is thus continuing its under-handed method of knifing the old age pension movement wherever possible. Of course, the leopard could not have been expected to change his spots.

Matthew Woll can ill afford to maintain this untenable

position. He cannot serve two masters at the same time. He is either for old age pensions and against the Civic Federation, or with the Civic Federation and against the practically unanimous policy of the A. F. of L. There can be no other way of looking at the question. Progressive laborites should demand his resignation from the National Civic Federation.

THE freeing of Sheriff Adkins and his deputies from any responsibility in the murder of the six textile strikers at Marion should make the American Federation of

The South Again

Labor more determined than ever to organize the South. The verdict establishes the naked fact that there can be no justice for the workers in that territory except that which labor through its own power is able to exact. A strong labor movement has always been an excellent antidote to lawlessness on the part of the upper class.

The eyes of that part of the nation that still considers democracy an essential form of American government will follow, therefore, the organizing committee which is to convene at Charlotte, N. C. on January 6. Even those who are not primarily concerned with trade unionism, as such, but who are interested in equal treatment of citizens before the law, will be rooting for the American Federation of Labor and hoping for its success in its southern campaign. Every intelligent person now realizes that whatever hope of liberalization of the South there is lies with the efforts of union organizers.

The responsibility of the American Federation of Labor is therefore not only evident but serious. It can no longer approach the problem as purely one of its own concern, but must realize that the job is really marking the rise of a united national attitude towards industrial relationships. Organizing the South is as universal an interest as freeing the Negroes was seventy years ago.

Because of the significance of this campaign the A. F. of L. must tackle the problem with no other thought in mind but to win. To leave the South empty handed would be disastrous. But to win requires a far more comprehensive view of the undertaking than has heretofore been the case. Every element which can be utilized in this endeavor to organize the South must be harnessed into action. It is not only assistance in the form of money that the A. F. of L. needs but equally important is the assistance of those who can help lay and execute plans. Unless the widest use is made of such elements it will be difficult for the A. F. of L. to say that it has done the best it could.

We have pointed out time and time again in the pages of this publication what we consider the minimum required to organize the South. We mentioned a million dollar fund as a primary requisite. We stressed the need of making the campaign a great revival movement. We urged the soft pedalling of business unionism in approaching the terrifically underpaid southern textile workers. If in addition to these measures, the best obtainable manpower, from the standpoint of planning, publicity, agitation and organization, is concentrated in the attack on unlimited exploitation and open shopperry, there can be nothing but victory for labor's efforts.

The blood of the textile workers killed in line of duty demands, and the intelligent and earnest people of America expect, that nothing be left undone by the American Federation of Labor which will successfully raise the southern industrial standards to a national uniformity approximating more closely the standards of civilized life.

The Industrial Depression

By GEORGE SOULE

GENERALLY speaking, the crash in Wall Street was a good thing for American labor. There are some people who have been thrown out of employment in the luxury trades, and to them, of course, the stock deflation is a serious matter. To the country at large, however, the principal trouble was that the crash did not come early enough. Secondly, in so far as the behavior of Wall Street has affected industrial conditions and employment, it was the rise of stocks that was injurious and not the fall. Thirdly, if we now have a depression and this depression is to become more serious, the principal causes are not in Wall Street at all but elsewhere.

I know that this view is not one that will be accepted by most writers and speakers on the subject. A large number of people are saying things now which are contrary to what they said a few months ago. So to explain the position I am taking I shall refer to several paragraphs from an article I had written forecasting the present situation which was published in the *New Republic* of February 27, 1929, on "Hoover's Task at Home." I there bring forth the thought that President Hoover's job was to keep prosperity going. I then wrote:

"At this moment, every one's eyes are upon the stock market. It is the apotheosis of confident America on the make. A whole nation is speculating in a sense in which a nation never speculated before. Geographically, the brokers' wires hum from coast to coast; socially, they vibrate from millionaire operator to elevator boy and bootblack. What is it that has made brokers' loans keep on expanding in spite of the fact that people must pay more interest for their borrowings, than the dividends on the shares purchased yield them, in spite of the fact that they could get a larger income from investment in gilt-edged bonds? Why have people come back into the market again and again after every reaction? Why have stocks kept on rising in spite of the bearish warnings of economic experts, of Federal Reserve authorities? It is because the citizens have been "sold" on Republican prosperity. They cannot believe that anything can be basically wrong. Statement after statement from Mr. Coolidge, from Mr. Mellon, and from

Mr. Hoover himself, has taught them to expect that production, sales and profits will grow and grow as they have been growing ever since 1922. Is not Mr. Hoover even a greater man than Mr. Coolidge? Was he not elected by a huge vote? What, then, is there to fear?

When gold first began to be superabundant in our bank reserves, there was a wholesome fear of business inflation, which might repeat the experience of 1919-1920, with its rising commodity prices and overstocked inventories. The banking authorities took precautions against undue expansion of credit for commercial purposes. But prices showed no tendency to rise, except for a brief period in 1923; inventories remained small, and the fear subsided. Interest rates were kept low, on the average, particularly when it was advisable to help the Bank of England retain its gold reserve after Great Britain's daringly early resumption of the gold standard in payments abroad. Easy credit flowed to vast building operations, to instalment payments, to security issues both foreign and domestic.

Stock Inflation

All this encouraged both production and consumption, and it increased profits. It also led to borrowing, while rates were low, by business concerns which were not yet ready to use the money. The profits were partly paid out in larger cash dividends and partly laid away in surplus accounts which enabled stock dividends. Shares naturally rose, and the amounts of credit used to finance their purchase rose also. When the banks began to take measures to restrict loans for this purpose, they discovered that a large part of the available credit had passed into the hands of business concerns. This, together with surplus cash reserves, flowed increasingly to the speculators, as the banks' restrictions, combined with the speculative fever, raised the call rate. Inflation, which had not occurred in commodity speculation, turned up in stock-market speculation.

In spite of the fact that profits from Wall Street have had an important share in maintaining the purchasing power back of prosperous industry, Mr. Hoover will be lucky if a Wall Street crash brings stock prices

down far enough. Otherwise, stock inflation may absorb enough of our credit to make things hard for many lines of production and trade. Building construction, the financing of instalment payments, and foreign loans which sustain our exports, cannot all be hampered without undermining the bases of good times. Even the discontent of the losing speculators would serve to reintroduce a wholesome element of prudence into the national mind. Coolidge prosperity, through the very fervor of conviction which has given it force, may boomerang.

Slump in Building

Building construction is already falling off. Indeed, there is a possibility that, even if credit to the speculative builders becomes as easy as before, the long-predicted slump will occur. It was many months ago that responsible loaning concerns issued warnings against the prevalent overbuilding of all except inexpensive residences and talked of growing vacancies and falling rents. Like the economists who predicted the end of the bull market too soon, they were not heeded. But the chance remains that they may have been fundamentally right, that booming construction has recently depended on inflationary credit and not on basic demand, and that instead of enduring a short and unimportant check, as it might have done if it had stopped in time, it will have a long and severe reaction.

Building is the largest single productive industry in the country, if we except agriculture and the railroads. Its depression would injure millions directly, it would also reduce the demand for steel, lumber, cement, bricks, hardware, plumbing and heating supplies, electrical equipment, furniture, rugs, refrigerators, cooking utensils, trucks, railroad freight traffic, etc., besides affecting the industries which make the articles of consumption bought by those engaged in it. If this happens, we shall see that the real fault lay in the uncontrolled overconfidence of Coolidge prosperity.

And then there is the tariff. Since we have been taught to believe that a high tariff has made us prosperous, there is no reason for us to suppose that a high tariff would not make us

THE AMERICAN STRETCH-OUT SYSTEM



Drawn for Labor Age by Herbert Heasley.

more prosperous. That supposition was encouraged during the campaign. Mr. Hoover was at pains to point out that our exports had increased since the passage of the Payne-Aldrich Bill, in spite of the predictions of the tariff theorists. He did not explain that the real reason lay largely in our great foreign loans, and that, in so far as the tariff was effective, it had hindered foreign trade. But he must know that, and he must know also the disturbing and inflationary influence upon business that a general tariff boost would have. Can he control the genii that he liberated from the campaign bottle? If he prevents general revision, and business goes flat, it will be said that his action is at fault; if he allows it, he will help business, in general, to go flat.

Economists Puzzled

One of the puzzles the economic statisticians have faced in recent years is, where the popular purchasing power to supply the market for generally used commodities has come from. Real wages in manufacturing, railroads, and mining had increased rapidly before 1923; since then they have been almost stationary, on the average—with some gains and some important losses. Employment in all these lines has had a shrinking tendency. There appears to have been little gain in the aggregate

net income of farmers. The answer must be partly in growing employment and rising wages in building construction, garages, radio services and other new occupations not covered by the existing statistics. It may also lie partly in expansion of installment credit. But suppose building slacks up, installment credit fails to grow as before, and there are fewer new purchasers and users of automobiles, radios and so on? Where will be the purchasers' stimulus for industrial growth?

The automobile manufacturers are planning to make 5,000,000 cars this year—more than they have ever made. The rapid up-swing of the curve of automobile production in past years helped other business immensely, but the curve started to flatten in 1926. The next year saw a decrease; 1928 a small increase. Where are the extra buyers? We may be permitted to doubt whether many of them can be found in the United States. Exports is the main part of the answer. But tariffs do not help exports."

The demand of speculators for credit created great danger of a Wall Street collapse. Over-confidence of the public was built up during the Coolidge regime, and through the speculative market it directed credit to speculation which was needed in building, financing foreign loans and in other ways.

The building industry started to decline in the early part of 1929. By

midsummer it was obvious that building was on the down-grade particularly in residential construction. We did not need to wait for a stock crash to know that something had to be done, and if Mr. Hoover had been a real economic engineer, he should have started his plans to boost building then, instead of waiting for a stock crash. It has been truly predicted all through the year that the automobile production program was too large for the demand. By September it was obvious that that was the case. That was another sign of trouble.

Effect on Savings

When the smash in stock prices came we were already well under way towards unemployment and depression, and the causes were, insofar as they came from Wall Street, the restriction due to its demand for speculative purposes. I was told by the head of one of the biggest savings banks in New York City that by the end of October its funds for mortgages were exhausted. It had to borrow money to fulfill obligations already incurred for first mortgages. He said that was due to the fact that people were not saving money but were using it for speculating in stocks. The same holds true for the rest of the country wherever stock speculation was general. The same banker now advises me that their savings accounts are rising by leaps and bounds, much more rapidly than ordinarily.

If the stock crash had been allowed to come last spring or even the fall before, we might have missed a great deal of restriction of credit, but whether that would have been enough to prevent an industrial depression is uncertain. The general situation is, of course, that the ability of American industry to produce goods has been increasing at a tremendous pace, due to machinery, better methods, etc. In the meantime there had to be some sort of stimulus to the purchasing power of consumers. If the consumers' purchasing power continued to increase it was not because of any rapid rise in average real wages or increase in the farmers' income. What then prevented the arrival of serious depression before this fall?

The only things to which people could point that may have sufficiently increased buying power were the boom in building which paid high wages and created full employment, and the growth of automobile production. But when building arrived at the point where it had over-produced in relation to its market, if it has arrived there,

then no amount of credit would help it. The credit would just allow it to keep on overproducing and would not permanently help the situation. The housing problem is still serious for those of small incomes, but that does not help prosperity if the speculative builders cannot make money building houses cheap enough to enable lower income groups to pay the rents.

The same with automobiles—if the foreign market does not expand rapidly enough we should have had a depression regardless of what happened in Wall Street, because the real wages of the workers and farmers are not increasing rapidly enough for the automobiles that are made. If prosperity does not keep on expanding as it has, if we have hard times for some

months to come, there will inevitably be a shift in the national attention. People will not be so ready to overlook serious flaws in our business organization. We may pass into an era where people will care about economic problems. In that case there is plenty of work for the Conference for Progressive Labor Action to do and plenty of hopes for its gaining attention.

Hard Times — A Social Responsibility

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

THE difficulty about discussing in any adequate fashion the present situation is that we have no statistics on the subject of unemployment, and we do not know to what extent our Wall Street crash has up to the present affected labor. I happened to be in New England within the last few days and was speaking with a college professor in Connecticut. He said that around his part of the State working conditions were very bad; that the social workers were saying that they had more of a demand for help than they had had in a number of years. Conditions were quite tragic. Papers consistently refuse to publish anything about unemployment.

I hope that the crash will have some psychological effect upon the workers. We know that there were tens of thousands all over the country during the last year or so who felt that they did not need to depend upon organized labor or political action for help, but only upon their broker. They spent their money speculating in the market. No doubt the crash will give them a saner view and get them to realize that progress lies in organization and not in trying to get something for nothing.

It seems to me that the crash also indicates the great inadequacy of private as compared with directed saving. That would be possible if the community became the saver and the owner, rather than the private individual. We find that all over the country the people simply guessed that stocks would go up. One of the things that is pointed out by the crash is the necessity for some sort of directed control of our investing system.

In spite of the great ballyhoo made about the prosperity the American worker enjoys, the share of the wage-

earner's national income has been steadily decreasing. The proportionate share of the wage earners in the national income has gone down from 40 to 36 per cent since 1921, while the share received by the salaried and managerial groups has gone up. There

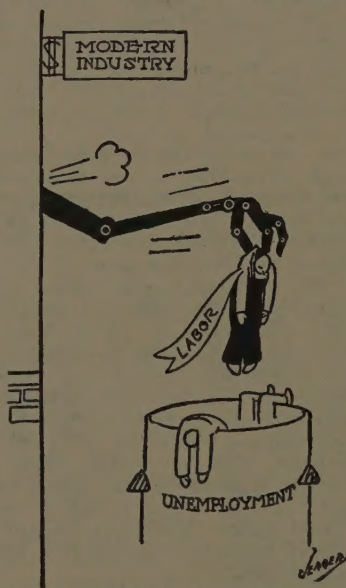
has been a three or four per cent increase in real wages, with the average for the whole country around \$23 per week. These wages range from \$10 in agricultural occupations to \$31 in the building trades. Only one-tenth of the wage earners get above \$40 per week.

Added to the seasonal and cyclical depressions which occur periodically, we now have the evil of the so-called "technological" unemployment. Between 1920 and 1927 there has been a decrease in the number of workers in manufacturing, coal mining, agriculture and transportation of around 2,000,000. When balanced by the increased numbers in the new industries and luxury trades, there is still a net deficit of around 650,000.

It seems to me that we must think in terms of constructive action. We must demand that the government not only think of developing public works when we are in the midst of unemployment but that plans should be laid far enough in advance for immediate application when a depression in business arrives. A great many contracts of the city, state and nation cannot really be carried into operation until the period of depression is over.

All this means tremendously increased insecurity for which little has been done. The immediate job, therefore, for workers who are really concerned is provision for social insurances, particularly unemployment and old age. The gathering of statistics on unemployment will help remedy the present situation. The development of a nation-wide and competently handled system of public employment agencies will help. But neither of these things will be able to create work where no work exists.

THE WORKERS' REWARD



THE WASTE PRODUCED

Locomotive Engineers' Journal.

This is what happens to the workers when either through depression or new devices their "services are no longer required." As Harry Laidler points out, now is the time to agitate for unemployment and old age insurance.

"Business Is Good"

A Realistic Survey of the Present Industrial Situation

PERCHED on one corner of 44th Street and Broadway in the heart of New York's Gay White Way, running across the entire width of a pretentious hotel and standing two stories high, is an illuminated sign:

FORWARD—AMERICA

BUSINESS IS GOOD NOTHING
KEEP IT GOOD! CAN STOP
U. S.

A thousand people an hour pass the corner and read it. Do they believe?

Perhaps they think business is good but not for themselves. For already the NEW YORK TIMES, which is trying desperately to collect enough money to take care of what it considers the 100 neediest cases, finds the business of collecting not so good. Summing up the amount so far received, the Sunday edition of December 22 complains: "... the fund rose only to \$199,218.34: whereas it was \$252,147.91 at this time last year."

"Business is good!" and out of the pages of the TIMES calling for humanity to stop and look at the gray ghosts stalking through prosperity, are some of the cases it is collecting money for. Each case is numbered, like the graves in Potter's Field.

"Case 201"

"Deborah was working at finishing dresses. Hundreds of dresses passed through her hands every month, but for herself she has hardly a whole dress to her name. . . . Then Deborah's forelady in the dress shop said, 'Work is slack. We're way ahead of our orders. The boss says he's got to lay everybody off. He'll send word if there is any work.' Deborah walked home that night to save carfare. She had a sandwich for dinner. That was weeks ago. She has had weeks with only one day's work and weeks with two or three days' work. . . ."

"Case 204"

"Elizabeth J., who is 79 and alone in the world, has kept the alert charm of a sheltered, white haired grandmother. Her husband died thirty-five years ago

after happy years for both of them. He had a commission business, which yielded little at his death. Mrs. J. supported herself doing sewing. . . . She came to New York thirty years ago at the age of 49. . . . Now at the end of her resolute independence, she is told, 'You're too old; not strong enough to scrub. . . .'"

"Case 282"

"Robert D. is a small, gray haired man of 70. . . . He is in good physical condition for his age and still manages to find work occasionally, but not enough to support him. An institutional home seems the inevitable finish of his dreams of success. 'An institution,' he says, however, 'is a place where people live with no plan except to die. . . .'"

"Case 16"

"Stanley W. was determined to give his three bright little girls an American education because neither he nor Mrs. W. had learned to read or write in the old country. He was one of the best workers in the factory, but he was impatient, after an attack of influenza, to get back to work. He thought he might lose his job. . . . There was a second attack of influenza. . . . He was sent to a hospital. . . . Mrs. W., afraid to contract bills, has, when her own work has fallen off, fed the children bread and milk for days at a time. . . ."

This happens in the richest city of the richest country in the world.

What is there to this glowing propaganda stuff that business is good? To get a more realistic picture of what is really happening in these United States, we are publishing stories from various industrial centers by people who can observe clearly what is going on in their communities. Some of these reports are general impressions gathered by contributors in direct contact with workers. Others are more analytical and definite. All of them, whether general or specific, present authentic information based on knowledge through many sources of contact with industrial and trade union developments.

"Business is good." And when you read the reports from New York, Boston, Cleveland, New Orleans, etc., remember them in terms of the Deborah's, Elizabeth J.'s and Robert D.'s. Stanley W.'s

NEW YORK CITY

IT might be worse! That just about summarises workers' job prospects in New York City and the metropolitan area.

Unemployment is bad, in the garment trades, building trades, metal trades and merchandising—industries that account for the great majority of the metropolis' 1,000,000 workers. But New York's position as the financial center of America, draining wealth from the vast hinterlands that stretches to the Pacific Coast, means now that depression will not be so sharp here as it is in Detroit, Pittsburgh and other centers of heavy industry.

An unemployment survey made expressly for LABOR AGE shows estimates of about 10 per cent normally employed workers out of jobs. But New York is little better off than any other part of the country for exact statistics of unemployment. Undoubtedly after the turn of the new year, tens of thousands of workers employed for the holiday trade will be shaken out of industry and retailing. The bitter story of the industrial depression will then be told.

Undoubtedly one big factor helping the metropolitan district is that employment throughout 1929 was at a much higher level than in preceding years. In October it stood 4 per cent above the preceding October. Nevertheless November saw the biggest drop in jobs of any November since 1925, reported the New York state labor department. The downward movement affected almost every industry and locality in the state. The reduction in working forces was sharpest in New York City, and in the food, clothing and leather industries. Metals lost widely, automobile and auto parts factories reporting widespread severe cuts. Employment nevertheless was 2 per cent ahead of November, 1928. December and January reports are expected to show jobs below levels for the previous years.

Trade union officials were loath to admit widespread loss in jobs. Secy. James C. Quinn of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York, Pres. John Halkett of the Building Trades Council and Secy. Alfred Peabody of District 15, Intl. Ass'n of Machinists, all decried alarmist reports. Behind their statements was

the desire of responsible officials not to place the bargaining power of unions in a bad light. They admitted unemployment was bad, but not exceptionally bad considering the season.

The building trades in fact were reported holding up well. Huge buildings under way—and there are many of them in New York—are still towering up into the sky, affording employment to thousands of building tradesmen. Nevertheless residential construction is in the dumps and non-union builders, who care for much of this kind of work are heavily unemployed. The stock market crash, according to many experts, will help the building trades by releasing money from speculation. On the other hand New York is reported 10 per cent overbuilt in offices and high class apartments with the present program pointing to a 20 per cent overproduction. This does not apply of course to housing for workers, but there's no profit in \$10-\$15 a room housing in New York, and so workers will have to get along with their old tenements, rat-infested and insanitary as they are.

The metal trades are in a bad way. It has been that way all year, with many machinists glad to get jobs at 75 cents an hour, and 90 cents considered excellent pay. Union offices do not report much of this joblessness, as the machine trade is very poorly organized.

Dr. Leo Wolman, statistician and research director for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, estimated for *LABOR AGE* that employment is 7.5 per cent under last year. Next year better figures will be available when the Amalgamated's unemployment insurance exchange is in full swing, he said. As it is, with 700 employers in the New York field, even the union itself has only an approximate idea of the extent of unemployment.

Chaos in Garment Market

Richard Rohman, publicity representative for the Intl. Ladies' Garment Workers, told *LABOR AGE* that the market has been thrown into chaos by the stock market crash and the change in women's fashions. Many employers—perhaps a majority of them—were hoping to make most of their money out of gambling while their business hobbled along under the direction of subordinates. Came the

crash, and the world disappeared beneath the feet of the manufacturer-gamblers. Now many of them, bereft of credit, are being pushed to the wall. Women, it seems, have not responded to the long skirt fashion very well.

OUT OF WORK



The New York Times.

As the well known artist, Willy Pogany, pictures the ravages of unemployment on an American family.

Retailers are overstocked on the new models, designers are at a loss, and manufacturers don't know how many long skirts and how many short ones to make. The worker in the women's wear trade pays the price, of course.

The men's spring clothing season is just getting under way while the women's season begins about Jan. 15, when the International Ladies' Gar-

ment Workers Union plans a dress strike in leading centers of the country. As an indication of hard times, the men's season is opening two months late while the women's season is several weeks late.

Retailing is the hardest hit of all, with luxury trades, theatres and amusements generally feeling the pinch of depression. After the Christmas pulmotor is withdrawn, these trades are expected to languish, throwing thousands on the street. In the migratory trades, employment is nil. The Bowery missions are crowded with the unemployed.

Relief is negligible. A few unions in the clothing trades, such as the A. C. W., have unemployment insurance. Otherwise nothing at all. The New York Times' charity fund is \$45,000 behind last year's, the first time in 17 years that the fund has failed to increase. Salvation Army and Volunteers of America Santa Clauses reported fewer dimes and nickels in the pots and chimneys than ever before. Christmas buying in the great department stores centered about articles under \$5. The luxury "shoppes" were flat.

That's the job situation in New York City, and New York is much better off than most cities!

HARVEY O'CONNOR.

Manager, Eastern Bureau,
Federated Press.

BOSTON AND VICINITY

IMEDIATELY upon the crash in the stock market a decided change was felt in the manufacturing industries of Boston. Throughout the past summer working conditions were, in general, favorable, especially in the building and metal trades.

At present, according to the most reliable information, large numbers of unemployed prevail in both industries. Particularly in the machinist branch of the metal industry is there a decided retrenchment. Several large shops have started on a part time working week. Others which were busy throughout the year have reduced their forces. From present indications there is no cause to hope for an immediate change for the better.

Massachusetts has been heavily hit during the past years by the withdrawal of industry either to a more western location or because of mergers with larger concerns. Where a merger has been effected it has meant the closing

of the shop in this section and in some cases the removal of the product from the market. In the past two years several concerns employing fifteen hundred men or more have been wiped out. The same is true of many more smaller shops, employing from fifty to one hundred men. In Worcester, which for many years was the center of the machine tool industry, conditions have drifted to a stage of almost hopelessness. In the mill cities of Fall River and Lowell, as well as in Manchester, N. H., long the center of the cotton goods industry, the curtained windows and silent factories have the aspects of deserted cities.

New England Hard Hit

From the present outlook one cannot help but feel that the upper half of New England will be hard hit for some time. Many of the factories in this section of the country have moved elsewhere and inroads from western shops have affected their markets, as well as imports from foreign countries.

Concerning possibilities of successful organizing the situation is problematical. The two large railroads through this section are dominated by the company union policy. In the Boston area the machinists have made every effort to organize the men employed in this trade but unfortunately the results have not been what they should be. Throughout the states of Connecticut and Rhode Island, where conditions are far more favorable, organization has been negligible. By no means can lack of organization be laid at the feet of the labor movement itself, whatever weakness has been manifest in its management.

Criticism has been made of the failure to make inroads in the automobile industry. A talk with those employed in the automobile factories leads to the conclusion that it is not wholly lack of effort on the part of organized labor as it is to the indifference of the men themselves. They seem to be of a type newly developed in a new industry and are not of the mind of the old line machinist.

From my experience in and study of present industrial trends, I believe the labor movement will be needed in the very near future far more than in the recent past.

PATRICK J. KING,
Secretary Boston Lodge No. 264,
Intl. Assn. of Machinists.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

THERE are at least 100,000 unemployed in this city. This figure is bound to increase after the Christmas season. Poverty is at the moment widespread. The charitable institutions admit inability to cope with the problem. March, 1930, will prove to be the developing month of even a greater unemployment situation.

Big business in this city has rallied its forces behind the Hoover program of psychologizing prosperity. Lords and overlords are uncertain as to the future outcome of business. More than that, there is fear of what may happen with too many unemployed.

At a Chamber of Commerce meeting a short while back, business men announced the expenditure of large sums of money for the purpose of giving the out of work something to do. This was called city planning. One department store executive contributed his share to economic stability by broadcasting the fact that his company planned to spend about \$10,000,000. Investigation disclosed that the store was building a new wall to its present structure.

Open shop employers play a prominent role in the civic life of the community. City Council consults business men on legislation to be made for the welfare of the "pee-pul." Department store proprietors employing thousands of young boys and girls at car fare wages are made directors of child welfare in this city. A man like Vauclain can be and is chosen to represent the public on a gas commission and so on ad absurdum.

Labor, in the meanwhile, does not budge. If it can secure work for its members it glories in a fulfillment of its mission. The union movement is sterile, having no future course or plan for increasing its membership.

Company Unionism Flourishes

The general labor movement here, as elsewhere, is gradually losing in numerical strength and influence. Beginning with the open shop drive in 1921, company unions and yellow dog contracts have expanded at the expense of the trade unions. Resistance was offered to this onslaught by the employers but with little success.

A serious attempt was made, particularly by the A. F. of L. organizer and several local leaders, to arouse the organized trades for a general organization drive. But it failed primarily because emphasis was laid on the organization of the skilled workers and left the unskilled and semi-

skilled at the mercy of the employers. Confining itself to unions already in existence the attempt to arouse even that kind of interest fell flat.

Politically, labor, following the "practical" policy of non-partisanship, remains on the outside. It panhandles for justice when it should demand it as a right. It considers itself practical by supporting Vare candidates and an occasional union card holder running for the minor judiciary on the Democratic ticket. Invariably labor's request that city work be given to union contractors is promised solemn consideration by the Mayor, elected with labor's backing. Police interferences in strikes, while not as extensive as at Marion, are nevertheless troublesome. Ordinances favoring labor are either hard to find on the statute books or politically disregarded.

An aid to labor's problems is the formation of a Philadelphia branch of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Progressives, now united, can study the situation and render service in creating a militant movement that would stir the very depths of Grundy's soul.

JOSEPH SCHWARTZ.

President Jewelry Workers No. 5;
Secretary, Education Committee,
Central Labor Union, Philadelphia.

PITTSBURGH, PA.

THE billboards and newspapers of Pittsburgh are heralding a sunshine movement which they hope will bring about prosperity in the area. "Pittsburgh forward" is the current theme. Announcements are made of possible extensions to plants and improvements to equipment. The shouting is loud.

The basic facts in the local situation are, however, these:

(1) Steel mill operations after a busy summer, have slackened off very appreciably. The Edgar Thompson works of the Carnegie Steel Company are working their forces on short time and an employee is fortunate in having three days work a week. In general the steel business is running not over sixty per cent of capacity. Wages in the industry continue at the low levels which have so long prevailed. The basic rate for a ten-hour man is forty-four cents, and for the eight-hour group, fifty cents. As the employees put it, "They pay us half time for our two hours of over-time."

(2) Coal mining is similarly feeling the depression which is setting in. The mines of the Pittsburgh Coal

NON-PARTISAN POLITICS



Drawn for Labor Age by Herbert Heasley.

What a mess! Pennsylvania labor is beginning to realize that non-partisan politics gives them the choice between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Progressive laborites in the Keystone state have a great opportunity now to point to the need of a Labor Party.

Company and of the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Company, largest producers in this area, are slackening to three and four days a week of work. Wages in coal have reached the lowest levels in years and, in fact, approximate for the first time in thirty years, the scales existing in the badly exploited Kentucky and West Virginia areas. An outside man is paid from three dollars to three dollars and a quarter a day. The inside day man can count on four to four and a quarter dollars a day. The scales for loaders and for pick miners have dropped by fully forty per cent from the levels prevailing in 1925. At the same time some of the corporations have stiffened up

on house rentals. This is especially true of the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Company.

One of the largest coal producers has developed a psychological approach to the labor problem. He is painting one company house yellow, another green, and still another brown, thus relieving the monotony of the red barn paint which earlier predominated.

(3) Union organization in the area is at a low ebb. The street railway men seem to be tied in a cooperative agreement with the Byllesby interests who operate the system and are in no wise disposed to interfere with the introduction of one-man cars and the slicing of forces. The United Mine

Workers are utterly crushed. The only remnants are a few of the Lewis henchmen who appear as well fed as ever. The National Miners' Union has no substantial hold in the area. Though discontent is great there seems no disposition to organize an effective protest. Labor speakers cannot count on drawing more than a couple dozen faithfuls.

Civil Liberties Trampled

(4) Repression of radical activities continues to feature the local arena. Three communists have just entered the Allegheny County Workhouse for a five-year sentence for selling the "Communist Manifesto" and the "ABC of Communism" at the same time they were conducting communist meetings in the Jones and Laughlin steel town—Woodlawn. Many other arrests will follow. Street meetings have been broken up in considerable numbers. The Coal and Iron police have kept up their record of having at least one shooting every six months, even in non-strike periods. The latest victim was a Negro miner. John Barcoski's murderers were acquitted two months back after a trial which was little better than a farce.

The one hopeful aspect of the present situation appeared recently in the acquittal of Accorsi, charged with killing a state trooper who was clubbing participants in a Sacco-Vanzetti protest meeting at Acmetonia.

C. E. WARNE.
University of Pittsburgh

CLEVELAND, O.

THE State - City Employment Agency "Finds City's Jobs Fewest Since 1921." The American Plan Association says there's no more unemployment than what is always true at this time of year. To support the first opinion Mr. B. C. Seiple, superintendent of the State-City Employment Bureau gives the following figures:

In November applicants had to apply 5.53 times before being placed. In October they applied 3.87 times, and in November, 1928, 4.16 times. In 1921, when employment was at a low ebb, the index stood at 6.61. The general average index for November over the last fifteen years, Seiple's report said, is 3.30. This index is completed from the number of times applicants have to apply to the bureau before being placed in a job.

Following a conference on Unemployment called by the Adult Education Association at which Paul Kellogg, Editor of the SURVEY, was the speaker, the following news then ap-

peared in the PLAIN DEALER: "American Plan Surveys Jobs. Questionnaires have been mailed to all members of the American Plan Association as the first step in a survey of employment conditions here."

Social Workers report an influx of men, families, and girls from mining towns in Pennsylvania. The Associated Charities report a much heavier load than usual due to unemployment. "Stay away from Cleveland. We have all the jobless we can care for" is the warning many would issue. Accurate statistics are not available. Meanwhile opinion is that the situation warrants immediate attention and action.

Public Work Delayed

Public work has been urged and Mayor Marshall says all for which money is available will go forward. Much of it will not open until Spring. Two bond issues which would have helped were defeated in the last election. The Stock Market collapse probably influenced the decision. Elimination of overtime is urged by Mr. Seiple of the State-City Employment Bureau. Announcement by Mr. Edgar Adams of the Cleveland Hardware Company of the five-day week as a remedy for the present situation came as a great surprise and labor representatives quickly commended him for adopting their program.

Mr. Kulas of Otis Steel advises with Mr. Hoover, and a Committee with Miss Alice Gannett as chairman continues to call attention to this costly social ill and hopes that Cleveland will devise practical ways to treat it.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention was the high light in Trade Union news. January 1st is anxiously awaited to learn whether 5,000 garment workers will really go on strike for abolition of sweat shops, shorter hours, and increased pay or whether the disputed points will be adjusted without a strike.

Negroes in building trades have had little work and have been hard hit for some time. That discrimination is practiced is often expressed but hard to prove. This issue was expected to be aired in a recent court case between a contractor and a building trade organization but the case was settled by agreement between the lawyers. Opinion has it that the color question is underneath the picketing of a restaurant by the Waiters' Local. Colored waiters, not desired in the organization, are employed there.

V. FREDA SEIGWORTH.
Industrial Investigator.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS has never been what may be termed a union stronghold due to the Latin-American immigration, the Negro population, the "cajins," a mixture of blood from the various sections of the State, uneducated in many instances, and the "hill-billies" from Mississippi who crowd to New Orleans, the only city of its size in the extreme south. The latter are brought hither by alluring advertisements of prosperity and "imported" as strike breakers by corporations seeking the complete destruction of unionism.

No Relief Visible

Unemployment is rife among both male and female workers and the scale of wages in all branches of industry is miserably low. Home labor is inefficient as a rule as apprentices are not given any thorough training. There is no relief in sight for the workers, as far as employment is concerned. The municipal building program, which did absorb some of the local workers, is practically completed, and thousands of men will be discharged shortly after the first of the year.

As to trade union activity in this city the situation is not over hopeful. The weakening of the local labor movement began fifteen years ago with the lockout of the union printers employed on the daily papers. The Typographical Union lost that fight and its members are out to this day. Since then the fight for the open shop has been waged unmercifully by the Association of Commerce and the Manufacturers' Association. The longshoremen engaged in a losing battle and are today working under cover without job control. The carmen's strike is recent history.

The major industries that are more or less organized are building, theatrical, printing and portions of the railroad workers. The labor press is represented by two papers. No local news is printed, the editors being contented with date line stories, plate matter and advertisements which assume enormous proportions on special occasions. Union activity is spasmodic.

J. W. LEIGH.

Federated Press Correspondent.

BUTTE, MONT.

THE largest mining camp in the world is feeling the effects of the industrial stagnation due to the recent stock market "flop."

The basic industry in Silver Bow

County is copper mining which includes other minerals such as gold, silver, zinc, lead and some manganese, with no factories or shops of importance. In November 1,500 miners were "laid off." In the first fifteen days of December 1,000 more miners lost their jobs and maintenance crews suffered in proportion. About 3,000 of the 10,000 employees of the mining companies in the county are unemployed and their number is increasing rapidly. Married men who have worked for the companies for several years are retained but with the coming of the new year it is doubtful if many miners will be employed in the Butte mines.

The "panic" has not affected the other trades to any extent as yet. The building and metal trades are now confronted with seasonal dullness, and many who generally work in the mines in the winter, are idle. The summer has been quite a busy season for these workers. The new year will witness, in Butte, about 8,000 unemployed.

With the exception of school teachers and miners, the workers are well organized and the sympathetic strike policy of the Trades Council has much to do with the numerical strength of the local unions. Until this fall there have been no systematic educational or auxiliary activities and the "buckle in your belt" tactics were still retained.

Signs of Progressive Spirit

In November the Silver Bow Union Label League was organized and a system of education, publicity and label agitation was outlined, the organization of Ladies' Auxiliaries is contemplated and a more progressive spirit is evident.

On December 17, Prof. John Kennedy, on his way to join the Brookwood faculty, lectured before the delegates of the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council and friends on "What we may expect from the British Labor Government." The Council adjourned early to give way to the lecture. There is a possibility that a series of monthly lectures will be established as an educational measure to discuss problems of importance to trade unionists.

There is considerable sentiment among trade unionists of Butte in favor of independent political action with reference to candidates to the state legislature. As yet, there is nothing definite on this question but a committee from the Trades Council is investigating the matter.

CHAS. W. GARDNER,
Mill, Mine and Smelter
Workers' Union

Critic Or Lackey of Big Business?

Labor's Position In 1930

By A. J. MUSTE

As we stand upon the threshold of a new year, the most ominous fact confronting us is that the labor movement in this country does not have a policy, a voice, an ideal of its own. It does not lead, it follows. It does not sound its own note, it echoes that of big business. On important matters of economic, social, international policy which the nation must meet, it has nothing to offer other than is being offered by the leaders of business and of the Republican party; sometimes indeed it does not even go so far as they do.

We had a striking illustration of this passive and colorless attitude on the part of labor in connection with the recent Stock Exchange crash, and the incident is important enough to warrant our dwelling upon it here, although some comment on it has already been made by LABOR AGE and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. When President Hoover called in some of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and some of the railroad brotherhoods, along with representatives of other interests in the nation, to confer upon ways of meeting the crisis, about all the leaders of labor had to offer was an assurance to the President and to big business that they would urge the workers not to ask for wage increases at the present time! The more one reflects upon that action the more one stands aghast. "Jimmy" Walker, our dapper Mayor in New York, followed a slightly different line when he recently raised his own salary from \$25,000 to \$40,000 per annum.

Gamblers Run Amuck

The nation had been indulging in an orgy of speculation; money that should have gone into channels of production and into the pockets of the people went into polite forms of gambling. Great leaders of finance and business, members of President Hoover's own official family, encouraged this mad policy. Then the crash came, as every sane person knew that it must.

What was the punishment then meted out to those responsible for robbing the American workers and bringing catastrophe upon the nation? First of all, they were given a handsome present by the government in the shape of tax reduction. The mass of workers of course do not pay income taxes. Then, all the agencies of the government were placed at the disposal of

for big business to do after the lambs had been sheared, and quite the proper thing for an administration which represents the New Capitalism. What now will Labor say and do at this moment when it has a chance to be heard throughout the land, when its voice will have to be heeded? In this moment of opportunity, labor leaders climb weekly on the band wagon, join the chorus, and for good measure promise to ask the workers to be patient and sweet and not to ask for any wage increases for a while.

In the present crisis, Labor gets nothing out of such a bargain. True, employers agree that they will not cut wages. The promise cannot be kept in a real sense, even though employers or some of them are personally sincere in making the promise. There is a substantial increase in unemployment, which in itself means loss of income for workers, and that brings surplus labor, which will mean wage-cuts in some form, even if any general and obvious reduction is cleverly avoided.

Movements for wage increases already under way encounter a bad psychology, as a number of unions have already discovered. In fact, the back of any vigorous effort to resist reductions is broken when you create a psychology that things are bad and we have to be careful not to "rock the boat." This at a time when Labor ought to be on the alert and in fighting trim.

Neither from the standpoint of theory nor from that of tactics, was there any need for this spineless attitude. The official theory is that business stability in this mass-production age depends upon keeping up and increasing the purchasing capacity of the masses; which suggests a policy of wage increases surely. And if the labor leaders were simply stating the fact that in "bad times" it is hard for Labor to get wage increases, surely it is a tactical mistake to emphasize your own weakness.

A positive note could have been sounded. First, a rebuke for business

HOLD THAT BALL!



Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine.
Good team work will organize the South.

the gamblers and profiteers to keep business going "as usual." Furthermore, there was set in motion the most colorful campaign of propaganda to calm the masses of people, to take the edge off their resentment, to keep them from insisting that something be done to prevent this sort of thing in future, to make them go along sheepishly, that the world has ever seen. Not even the war-time propaganda can hold a candle to it.

Very well, that was the natural thing

and political leaders who encouraged the speculative orgy, and postponed their feverish conferencing until the damage had been done. Second, a re-statement of "the policy of high wages" and the drawing of the conclusion that means for increasing wages for workers instead of cutting taxes for the rich should be found. Third, presentation of a program of social insurance against sickness, old age and unemployment. (It may be years before another such opportunity for publicity for this cause presents itself.) Fourth, a ringing summons to all organized workers to fight wage cuts to the death and to all unorganized workers, especially in the South, to join the unions in order that their disgracefully low standard of living might be raised.

Not all President Hoover's or anybody else's efforts could have prevented that kind of message at that crisis from being broadcasted all over the land. No one can calculate the effect this would have had on the morale of the workers and the development of the A. F. of L.

Labor Muffs the Ball

The most serious feature, however, of the entire situation is not in the correctness or incorrectness of the tactics on this or that specific point, but as we suggested at the beginning, in the fact that in another important crisis in our American life there was no effective criticism of and opposition to our ruling group. We are developing a dictatorship and so a uniformity in our social thinking as well as in finance, industry and politics. A few scattered voices in the U. S. Senate occasionally protest. They are truly voices crying in the wilderness, because Labor, the one force in modern industrial life which should furnish criticism and opposition, which should fulfill the great social task of proclaiming alternative policies and more advanced ideals, fails to fulfill that function in the national life. It is an echo of the dominant regime, not an efficient critic compelling the dominant interests to "watch their step." Labor thinks it is "patriotic" when it goes along; the fact is that it is betraying the nation as well as itself. Meanwhile it only makes itself ridiculous. Since the Hoover-Green pact was made, A. F. of L. spokesmen have had to proclaim in one and the same breath that the country is in great shape and that the policy of not pressing wage increases is necessary because the country is on the brink of ruin!

Who Said This?

(If you can't guess turn to page 28 for answer).

The year 1929 will be a very good year from an industrial development, production and trade markets standpoint.

The buying spirit is strong and this will mean a further demand for manufactured products and for all those things which the people need and use. The Government projects will have a most stimulating effect, and will draw most exhaustively on the supply of labor as well as upon materials and manufactured goods.

It is hoped that the unsound economic condition existing in the coal, textile and shoe industries will, in a measure, be overcome and that a solution for the correction of the unfavorable economic conditions existing in agriculture will be found. The country has a right to expect great improvement in these industries during the year 1929. There should be little, if any, unemployment during the new year.

"Buy Sound Securities"

A little document has just come to hand which provides another illustration of our point. It is issued by Halsey, Stuart and Co. of New York, well-known brokers. It is a speech delivered by President Green on December 11 as guest speaker on their radio program. It is entitled "The Worker and His Money" and its chief purpose is to advise workers to put their surplus into good investments. "Satisfy yourself that you are dealing with a strictly reliable firm" of brokers.

What can be the purpose and what is bound to be the effect of such a speech under such auspices? In the eyes of the nation and in the eyes of the workers the President of the A. F. of L. becomes identified with big business. Just how many workers so desperately need advice on where to invest their excess income that the head of the labor movement should take time out just now for that purpose instead of planning how to organize Southern textile workers who work 67 hours for an eleven dollar per week wage? Lest that be thought an extreme example, what of the 16,000,000 wage earners who get less than \$25 per week? How much did they need this

advice? Is it not true that one who could make such a speech at precisely this time of industrial crisis lives mentally among business-men and not among wage earners? Does any one conceive of Samuel Gompers making such a speech?

Throughout this speech, emphasis is on our wealth and our "prosperity"—savings deposits, insurance policies, etc.—as compared with other less favored countries. Practically no effort to analyze the figures, no reference to unemployment, child labor, speed-up, sick industries, reduction in the wage level of thousands of workers such as the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor has recently pointed out. Any business man would make such a speech. It is a very significant thing that Labor should merely echo the business man.

We might go down the line and take nearly every great issue before the American people today and we should find that Labor lacks a distinctive policy; it is simply a tail to the kite of the big business regime. There is the Tariff. Labor had a distinctive policy for many years, but today labor leaders are hardly to be outdone by Open-Shop Joe Grunfly himself as lobbyists for high tariffs. The fact that only a slight percentage of wage earners are in the industries that would be protected; that our best protected industries such as textiles are among the worst so far as exploiting labor and failure to keep efficient are concerned; that manufacturers find ways to circumvent the tariff wall when it is to their interest, does not count. No distinctive policy is worked out; the line of least resistance is followed and the big business policy in the matter is adopted.

The same holds good in the field of our foreign relations. We insist on collecting debts and reparations from European countries for sixty years to come, an utterly asinine proposition, and made doubly so when at the same time we build up a tariff wall against products from those countries with which they might pay us. Does Labor have any vigorous criticism to offer? Any policy of its own to suggest? Our marines continue to hold forth in Nicaragua, Haiti and China, but Labor does not speak. We go through the motions of reducing armament, at the same time first making sure that we are to be on a naval parity with Great Britain, and spending more money on war preparations than any other nation on earth, more than ever before in our history. Does Labor

have anything to say that President Hoover has not said?

So with domestic policies. The control and ownership of public utilities has become a vexing and pressing problem, as has the control of our communications system, radio, telegraph, telephone, the nervous system of a complex industrial era. Owen D. Young can urge a Senate Committee to unify our communications system with foreign lands, if necessary under public ownership. Do we ever hear such revolutionary proposals from responsible leaders of Labor?

So even with strictly labor issues, such as social insurance. Slowly we have come at last to official endorsement of old age pensions. But what of other forms of social insurance?

European countries have them. Quite a number of corporations provide them for their employes and so win their loyalty for the company instead of for some larger social unit. What is Labor's policy?

In the field of workers' education, the official movement feels no need of developing distinctively labor enterprises. The extension department of the universities which serve the open-shoppers and company unionists can serve the workers and the unions too. For the rest, imposing conferences at which business men and politicians and labor people hobnob and generalize about peace between capital and labor and how to make industry more efficient.

In politics Labor is a tail to the Republican kite here and to the Democratic kite there, the whole situation being beautifully symbolized at the recent convention of a "Socialist" union where on the opening day the feature addresses were made by two Republican politicians from the Republican State where the convention was being held and then telegrams of greeting sent to three Democratic politicians from the Democratic State and city where most of the union membership happens to be!

No student of history will doubt that for a nation it is, as we have pointed out, a dangerous thing if the agency which should act as a criti-

cism and a check on the dominant forces is passive, weak, a mere echo and "yes-man" to these dominant forces. To that extent the labor movement with its lack of distinctiveness and vigor is doing an ill service to the nation.

Labor is also paralyzing its own efforts and poisoning its own soul. No movement can succeed which is merely critical, but a movement which criticizes, which asks questions, which raises doubts, which suggests — as James Truslow Adams, himself for years a Wall Street broker and now one of our most solid and brilliant historians, has recently done in his series of essays on Our Business Civilization — that "overwhelmed by the material advance made in the past five

decades or so and by the vast amount of Pollyanna literature with which we are flooded by politicians and business executives with axes to grind, we are apt to lose sight of the law of compensation and to think of all change as unalloyed improvement," such a movement has at least some reason for existence and some vitality. It can crystallize the hurt and the anger in the souls of the victims of "prosperity." But a movement which does not even criticize, which merely echoes and goes along, cannot get or hold the loyalty of any one.

If a worker when he sees a labor leader sees a business man, when he hears a labor leader hears what Herbert Hoover or Julius H. Barnes, or his own boss has just said, and never

hears anything distinctive, any positive policy from labor leadership, that worker will lose all interest in the labor movement in any form. If he does not care to join a union, if he cannot by any effort be induced to join one, if he does not see any difference between a company union and a trade union, is not that exactly what we might have foreseen? Yes, and if labor under these circumstances adopts the policy of trying to organize unions by appealing to the employer that it is in his interest instead of appealing as of old to the workers as against the employer, that also is a natural result. That kind of a labor movement may have something to offer big business, but it certainly has nothing of importance to offer to the worker.

For 1930, then, we urge a labor movement which constitutes a vigorous, distinctive, critical, fighting force in our national life. A militant labor movement which will fight and work for the workers in the South and elsewhere and in its turn depend upon the fighting morale of its members, upon their devotion and courage, for a labor movement which rallies the progressive forces in the nation to the support of a Labor Party, which stands for a new order of society in which the labor principle of cooperation shall replace the business principle of competition.

WHO'S YOUR BROKER?

TO-NIGHT
you are cordially
invited to listen to

MR. WILLIAM GREEN, PRESIDENT
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

on the subject

"The Worker and His Money"

In the number of its active membership — comprising those who pay dues monthly into its treasury — the American Federation of Labor is said to be the largest organization in the world. It has approximately three million such members. As president of this large group, Mr. Green should command widespread and thoughtful attention for the important topic which he will discuss.

HALSEY, STUART & CO.

RADIO PROGRAM

WEAF... 9 O'CLOCK

Also over a Coast to Coast network of 48 stations associated with the National Broadcasting Company. Distinctive musical program.

If unable to listen to this program, you may obtain a copy of Mr. Green's address by writing to Halsey, Stuart & Co., 35 Wall Street, New York

For the first time labor received recognition in the financial section of The New York Times when this ad appeared. In it Halsey, Stuart & Co., Wall Street brokers, announced Pres. William Green's radio speech on where workers should invest their surplus funds. This, coming soon after the stock crash, assured labor of the stability of industry and reassured the continuation of America's prosperity. The unemployed especially will feel greatly relieved by this advice.

William Green in his speech was greatly concerned lest the workers do business with unreliable investment houses. Now the important question when two workers meet is not, "Are you working?" but "Who's your broker?"

The Law and the Profits

Thinking Through Some Battlefront Problems

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

NOTHING can be much more delightful than an afternoon in the Easton Public Library. The building has been located well off the beaten track of the city's traffic. To the rear lies silent hilly land. Browsing through the books, one gets an occasional glimpse of a winter bird through the windows. It takes quite an effort to remember that you are within a stone's throw of one of the nation's low-wage centers, with worried, ill-provided human beings round about.

And yet, the books themselves seem to be quietly recalling lessons that we apparently have to learn over and over again. There is one volume there that has quite taken my fancy—a "Life of William Penn" written by a Mrs. Hughs and published in 1828. It gives a simple and charming account of the prison experiences of the great Quaker. Not only was he thrown into jail for preaching his doctrines, but the indictment leveled false accusations at the pacific Friends that are amusing at this date. These quiet folks were spoken of as riotous and radical mobs. When the jury acquitted Penn, the judge threw the jurors into prison for contempt, the last time a judge ever did that in Britain.

Irony can go no further than in the State which Penn came to America to found. That very "Law" of suppression which he sought to escape is now used against the common people in his Commonwealth. At every turn, and in every corner of America, organizers must face the distorted opposition of the "Law." In Pennsylvania (which may be well called "our Northern South") the concept of labor unionism as anti-legal has been carried to the extreme. At one corner of the State: Coal and Iron Police, brutally killing a union miner, are speedily acquitted. At another: labor unions are practically forbidden to carry on their organization work, by the Philadelphia and Easton-Nazareth injunctions.

That is the growing tendency in this country. An organizer can scarcely open his mouth, to ask a man or woman to be a member of a union, or to address a meeting, before he has an in-

junction order handed him. The "yellow dog" contract is becoming an occasion in itself to secure sweeping court orders, violating all the fundamental principles of the Constitution. The "Law," as developed by the "equity" courts, is rapidly destroying every guarantee of the Constitution, so far as workingmen are concerned.

Inevitable Role of "Law"

All of this is well known, and has been said by many other persons and on many another occasion. The burning thing is, that the members of Organized Labor on the whole, and many

power, when it was struggling for freedom and expression. By degrees these precedents are stretched, to aid that dominant class, until they become absurd and out of step with current practical justice. Reform will not come until ridicule, evasion and even defiance have reshaped public opinion, marching along with economic change.

Now, when an organizer comes in contact with the "Law" in his organizing work, he has two things in mind. Or, it seems that he should have. One is the dramatization of the issue so that it will aid in giving one more blow to the injunction menace or other unjust regulation; the other is to prevent injury to organization work or the strike by the corporation's misuse of the legal apparatus. A labor union, after all, wants immediate results of some sort, as well as long distance victories.

In dramatizing the issue, nothing is better than wholesale arrests such as were invited by the Kenosha strikers, and by many other strikers in the good old hectic days before the war. We see an encouraging increase in the tempo of strikers in this respect, and such fearlessness of the "Law" must be repeated in center after center before the whole country is aroused to unjust labor laws. When fear of the "Law" ceases to be general in any social struggle, the beginning of the end of that "Law" is at hand, and another code is in the making.

Often, the need for immediate results may require evasion, rather than any form of outright civil disobedience. Evasion of unjust legal decrees, both to secure results in spite of them and in order to render them ridiculous, is a subject for deep study on the part of organizers. It is by such evasion, with other motives, that every great corporation has been built up. The superiority of the anti-union manufacturer over his employees lies largely in this ability to disregard the Law. He uses the Law, when he chooses, to beat down those employees, often taking advantage of their fear and ignorance; he evades the Law, with the aid of skilled attorneys, to advance the interests of his corporation.

JAILED IN NAZARETH



JOSEPHINE KACZOR

Pretty Brookwood graduate and union organizer jailed while leading girl strikers on the picket line. The arresting sheriff, captivated by her charm, offered to bail her out, but Josephine indignantly refused his aid and waited until the union came to her rescue.

organizers among them, have not yet realized that this is the inevitable role of the "Law." In every great crisis, the "Law" is ever on the wrong side in its practical application. It is on the wrong side, because it is a collection of precedents, which have been created by the dominant economic

It is not only the Standard Oil Company, as pictured by Ida Tarbell and Henry Demarest Lloyd, which rose through misuse of the legal machinery. On the record of every successful industrial concern should be written this legend: "Created by breaking the Law legally, or by subtle evasion."

Legally Illegal

It may be a disillusioning thing for the innocent but well-disposed to fight the devil with fire, but alternatives there are none. The fourth point in successful organization work seems to be: It must, when occasion requires, be legally illegal. You are then merely doing for the workers what their enemies are doing for the welfare of a select class.

To make this point effective, gay and contemptuous independence of time-serving politicians is required. We constantly get back to that theme, because it is so very vital. Organized Labor is hand-cuffed today, by reason of asking favors too often, instead of demanding rights or evading and defying unjust wrongs. It is much better to win respect by a healthy Labor independence than to secure "cooperation" of politicians by fawning tactics. Under the latter policy, some few crumbs may be won but big and permanent achievements will not be secured. Fear of resolute and skilled opposition will often move politicians, and even judges, more than the cap-in-hand attitude of political servitors.

Let me cite a rather unhealthy condition for organizing activities existing at the present time in Northern New Jersey. The Hague machine has control of the Labor Movement. As machines go, it may be better than some others, and certain unions may have been granted partial "protection." Injunctions are handed out in Northern New Jersey, however, without rhyme or reason. The poisonous effect on the morale of the Movement more than offsets small safeguards to a chosen few in Labordom.

Theodore Brandle is the master representative of the Hague group in the Labor ranks. He occupies the unique position of being president of the Iron Masters' League—the employers—of the State, while also acting as head of the union iron workers. That does seem to be carrying "cooperation" to the limit. In his suite of rooms in Jersey City, there are located numerous bonding and other "business" corporations; and in that suite there is also to be found the office of Newman, recently created president of the Building Trades Council of Paterson. New-

man was sent into Paterson to control the local movement for Hague. And for the same reason, the union iron workers of Paterson and Passaic are denied their own local unions. They are compelled to be affiliated with the Jersey City local.

What is the result? The Jersey City movement is a pathetic edition of what it should be. The position of the irregular alliance seeps through other adjoining counties. It halts organization work and stifles the zeal that should be in a fighting Movement.

Cleaner Cut Figuring

Judges, already tainted with the idea that the "Law" should serve Profits, cannot be made to respect such a coalition. The present legal situation requires much stiffer and cleaner cut fighting on the part of the unions than any political-business combination of this kind can insure. Developed a little further than in some other communities, the Northern New Jersey example is generally typical of many places. Strangled to death, the Movement becomes a corpse rather than the belligerent force it should be. Far better would it be to be outright and forthright in our Labor viewpoint. Even politically minded Judges could not help but admire that sort of opposition.

What is more important: Such a self-sufficiency on the part of the

unions is imperative for any genuine political upheaval that will win back Labor's rights. It is futile to think of the Brandles or the Newmans or their like leading the laboring classes in this Big Business regime to any sort of legal emancipation. There is far more hope in the tactics of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, reaching workers and the public through local "Hosiery Workers," such as were first begun in Kenosha, or through amplifiers, such as have been used in Philadelphia and Nazareth.

Edward F. Callaghan, of the Hosiery Workers, deserves credit for hitting upon the amplifying device in organization work. Other unions will find it advisable to make use of this device extensively in their campaigns. The amplifiers give a greater sense of power to the unorganized workers than street speaking could ever give, and allow the union to get its message over to thousands of the "General Public." Local authorities and judges will go slower in attacking organizations which tackle the organization problem in this way, arousing the sympathy of the public in general for their cause. Such a program has much more assurance of breaking ground in it than the sordid political alliances which have weighted local Labor down in so many instances.



Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine.

Following the Fight

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

Announcing: The Third American Revolution

1930 Reaction Bent On Class War

ALARM fires blaze on the economic mountain-tops of Imperial America, as 1930 opens.

They burn as blood-red in the economic night as Thomas Hardy's lights of St. John's Eve or the Spaniard's signal fires in the Moorish wars.

A great uneasiness is abroad in the land. Wall Street has hit Main Street hard. Billboards at every turn announce "America Forever! Business is good; keep it good." There is something in them of the old war-time Hurrah and propaganda. The late panic must have dug deep to require such super-efforts at "psychologizing" the faithful and loyal.

Into the breach created by themselves, step Julius Barnes and the Moneybags Hierarchy, to become an extra-legal part of the governmental machinery. Duly anointed by Herbert, they forge one more link in the chain that is binding government to Big Business in this country. They are to restore confidence. They are to ponder the imponderable question of how to keep business moving, with our foreign trade cut by European revival and our domestic trade threatened by maladjustment of wages.

"Psychologizing" may help for a time at that, in this part of the picture. It may postpone some of the difficulties, which it cannot cure. Its weakness lies in the classical example of the Rockefellers, "patriotically" rushing in to purchase millions in stocks at low—only to make millions later at high. Their "patriotic" gesture, designed to "restore confidence," merely added its bit to that top-heaviness of Dividends and Profits which is causing all the mischief.

It is in the other part of the picture that "psychologizing" will work no longer. Reactionary Employerdom is determined on class war, in the many unhappy "Happy Valleys" of working-class America. The year that has just passed saw the beginning of a phenomenon that bids fair to be with us for a quarter of a century. We are at the opening of the Third American Revolution: one that will determine whether Worker or Capitalist shall dominate in this home of the brave and land of the free.

From out of the recent twaddle about Company Unionism and "Industrial Democracy," we see in bold outlines the class justice of the South. Alfred Hoffman, pacifist and good humored, is to be confined to 30 days in jail. His companions of courageous sons of the coming South, are given 6 months in the chain gang. At the same time, the filthy murderers of Marion go scot-free. "Bloody" Baldwin, who chortled over the slaughter of his workers, can have a Merry Christmas. These offscourings of the industrial dung-heap have served him well. To kill a worker is no crime; did not the feudal lord have this right? Reactionary Employerdom means to have it likewise.

On January 6th, the American Federation of Labor confers, with a view to reentering this bloody battleground. If they go in with full force and determination, they will face these batteries of Industrial Feudalism. Hoffman will not be the last A. F. of L. organizer to taste the foul fare

of a Southern prison. The deputy sheriffs of Marion will not be the last hirelings to be given carte-blanche to slaughter workingmen.

And as it is in the South, so will it prove to be, to a greater or less degree, in many centers of the North. Particularly will we see a reign of terror if the basic industries are disturbed. As it stands: Courts, sheriffs, state police, professional murderers, labor spies, professional strikebreakers, and "yellow dog" contract artists hold the fort for the Reaction. The very primitive right to organize is denied, through the aid of all these agencies. It is a modern serfdom which the Reaction hopes to maintain among the workers of America.

When the A. F. of L. begins in real earnest to attack this chain of legal and illegal Terror, it will have to go far. Success can be attained only by overturning the whole outfit. The Reaction has given it no choice. It must be whole hog or none. That is, in certainty, the beginning of a Revolution. Labor must hold out for its being a non-resistant struggle, even though Reaction seeks to make it violent.

GOOD OUT OF NAZARETH

SPEAKING of the North and courts and sheriffs: How about Nazareth? There is a strike on there now, in that little Pennsylvania pocket so long unfamiliar with unionism.

Reference has been made in other issues to the imposition practised on the court in that case, where an injunction was secured on false affidavits. This injunction was to have stopped all organization activities of any kind. It was aimed at Branch 10 of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers and several individuals. The workers, in striking, however, joined up with Branch 20, across the State line. The court record, moreover, was wonderfully "clean." Even the "scabs" of the company testified that union representatives had never asked them to join the union and had not mentioned strike. Nevertheless, the strike is on, by action of the workers themselves. It was shown in the testimony that the union objective was to arouse the social conscience of the community against the "yellow dog" contract. No grounds for an injunction, even under the most sweeping rulings of the anti-union Supreme Court, were presented. The long and boring array of company witnesses brought out the "yellow dog" contract as the sole possible reason for an injunction—and there was no evidence that the union had violated that "contract."

The company has understood that thoroughly. It has now confessed defeat in these proceedings by asking that the union be not enjoined. It now wishes only the two organizers mentioned, Earl White and Louis Francis Budenz, to be enjoined. As White is out of the situation, conducting a fine battle in Gloucester, Mass., the injunction is now asked against one man alone!

This decided victory before the court has made a decision, has gone far to inspirit the workers. When the

local authorities, and then the Sheriff, endeavored to break up picket lines with arrests, these workers went to jail freely and joyfully. Victory came there, too. Suits for false arrests soon brought the public officials to time. The Sheriff came to realize that he was being used as a "goat," and ceased his wholesale arrests.

All forms of suppression and repression have failed at Nazareth—among a people whom Prof. Weygandt terms "the most conservative in America." The workers, aroused to the issue of American liberty, have played their part more than well.

Which suggests an answer to the Biblical question: "Can good come out of Nazareth?" Again the response is: "Decidedly, there can."

COMMUNIST STRIKEBREAKERS

IN THE hurly-burly of battle that is ahead for 1930, it is regrettable that the Communists seem bent on continuing old exploded tactics.

Both at Nazareth and in the Paterson hosiery strike, they have essayed the old strikebreaking role. In the latter city, the strike is in the hands of Carl Holderman, who raised \$18,000 for the Passaic battle, at the time that the A. F. of L. was looking cross-eyed at it. An organization which is intent on expelling all its active members, of course, cannot be expected to remember such evidences of disinterested support of working class efforts at freedom. The Communists certainly did not. They issued circulars to the Paterson strikers denouncing Holderman as a tool of the bosses and as one who would sell out the workers.

Such slimy tactics deserve only one answer. Communists (and any one else) who perform such scabbing service for the bosses should be treated as scabs. Any organizer worth his salt will treat them in just that way.

In Nazareth, all those in charge of the strike regretted that the girl strikers were compelled to eject the Communist woman, breaking into our meeting. When one enters another union meeting, however, and persists in shouting "Liar" and other "complimentary" words of that sort, while a speaker is speaking, there is only one thing to do. That was done at Nazareth, and will be repeated wherever similar tactics are attempted.

No group should aid the bosses. The Communists, in their strikebreaking efforts, are doing just that thing. Let them attend to their own knitting, and cease aiding the Reaction. They must relieve themselves of the delusion that they are some sort of a sacrosanct group, who can do no wrong and to whom everyone must kow-tow. It is a bad form of dementia.

RED FIRE

BUT the Communists are like Rabelais' giants: They are quite impossible, but still serve their purpose. We must be over-patient with the Moscow-inspired.

Though intelligence and permanency seem lacking to their efforts in the U. S. A., they do bring fire and color to their tasks. If anything is welcome in the Labor Movement in 1930, it is just those qualities.

The mission of Progressives is to inject the drive and enthusiasm that mark Communist enterprises into a Movement seriously in danger of dying with sham respectability. While that is being done, Progressives will kindly re-

member on the other hand that this is the United States of America, and not Russia, Pomerania or Timbuctoo. Red fire is desirable, minus the peculiar "Red" views on solidarity, loyalty and unity.

THE CALL TO BATTLE

STANDING at the portals of 1930, our hearts should beat faster with joy at the coming conflict.

Hard days are ahead. Men are to perish, "shot down in the very noon of life." Heart-breaking scenes are to be enacted, in the pain and famine of the strike and lockout zones. Reaction will have it no other way. Strongly entrenched, it plans to fight with genuine gunpowder. Out of it, though, will come the thrill of freedom for the masses. Out of it will come the end of "yellow doggery" and the breaking of those chains which bind workers, North and South alike.

Progressives, this is our day. Communist bankruptcy, foretold in these pages last Spring, is now universally conceded. The feeble A. F. of L. leadership continues to mumble about Russia and to sell bonds for Wall Street brokerage houses. It is the Progressive group, familiar with the American landscape and with American history, scorning doctrinaire limitations but determined to march forward, that can alone raise the standard of revolt.

Hard deeds in the field, not pious sighs on soft cushions are the things desired. Let there be no misunderstanding about that. There are jails to be filled with singing jailbirds. There are colleges to be shaken up by explosions, because certain students dare to act for freedom. There are schemes to be set on foot to evade the unjust Capitalistic laws which blacken the record of American "Justice." We are out of the talking stage now and into the period of action. There is little room for pure and simple talkers in the Progressive camp. We want people who will act.

There are still too many folks, longing for some one else to get out and do the firing. There are too many Liberal-minded students in fear and trembling of the college authorities, back of whom stand the Lords of the Moneybags. There are too many potential leaders of the workers afraid to go to jail.

We are not singing the merits of martyrdom for the thrill of the thing. The occasion calls for those who can make the current "Law" look ridiculous by evasion and sarcasm. We can use the legalistic weapons of our enemies to prick those Balloons which have been taken to be Gods. But he or she alone can do this naughty deed, who has no fears of the "Law" or of its oftentimes corrupt mouthpieces.

Reaction's picture is an ugly one. Mr. Grundy now looks after our economic welfare in Washington, and Mrs. Grundy controls the nation's morals. Our working population is in danger of becoming a horde of spiritual slaves. To put it mildly, we are in a hell of a fix. Is there not good reason, crying aloud from every shack in the South, for a wholehearted, singing revolt that will never let up until victory has been gained?

Young folks in particular, workers and students alike, here is adventure for you. Nineteen hundred and thirty shouts out a call to battle, that will rage for years to come—the great battle for workers' emancipation. Are you to stand with the Rich Young Man or are you to take up the burden of jail and social ostracism and hardship in the field—to DO something?

C. P. L. A. Activities Extended

Chairman Muste Visits Middle-West

HAPPY NEW YEAR, everybody! The coming months certainly hold forth great hopes of achievement for the progressive forces and if among the C. P. L. A.ers there is much rejoicing, there is a reason. All of us can face 1930 with more certainty, greater courage and deeper enthusiasm. During the past weeks we brought our challenge to the personal attention of the rank and file of labor and these men and women, having looked on in silence for years and almost despaired, felt their hearts warming and hopes rising at the message of militant and progressive unionism. They not only welcomed the challenge but made it their own. It will be a happy new year.

The event of first importance is the new dress in which the voice of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is garbed. The staff has had to forego its second cup of coffee on Christmas Day in order to get all the new p's and q's right for this edition of LABOR AGE. But the result was worth more of a sacrifice than that, don't you think? If you like the change let us hear from you about it. If you don't like it tell us where the trouble is. We must make the official publication of the progressive forces as perfect as talent and effort will permit. Help us, by your criticism.

Radio fans who are proud of their receiving sets can now tune in on a C. P. L. A. story every other Tuesday if they turn their dials towards station W. E. V. D. around 8:40 of an evening. Usually, Israel Mufson, Executive Secretary, has something of interest to broadcast at that hour and if you don't like his story you can have the privilege of panning him the next day. A postcard will do it. In case every other Tuesday is too indefinite, the next C. P. L. A. message will be delivered on Tuesday, January 14.

Meanwhile the activities of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action become more widespread as time passes. To enumerate all of them would take far more space than can be allotted to this purpose. Speakers have appeared at any number of meetings and literature has been distributed at all of them. Tom Tippet, Israel Mufson, Leonard Bright, A. J. Muste, Nathaniel Spector, Millinery workers, and David Saposs have pre-

sented the views of the C. P. L. A. at union meetings, settlement houses, churches, open forums, neighborhood clubs, labor union conferences, colleges and at educational classes. From none of these have they gone away empty handed. Membership affiliations, LABOR AGE subscriptions and sale of pamphlets always resulted. Where two people now discuss labor problems there the C. P. L. A. is sure to be mentioned.

II

During the past month the local branch of the Philadelphia Conference for Progressive Labor Action held two meetings, both well attended. Though the first gathering brought a response from only 15 interested workers, so thorough was the work of these fifteen that when the second meeting was called a few weeks later over 75 were present. At the first meeting, Joe Schwartz, a member of the National Executive Committee of the C. P. L. A., and president of Jewelry Workers' Union No. 5, as well as Secretary of the Labor College of Philadelphia and Secretary of the Educational Committee of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, was made chairman of the C. P. L. A. branch. Edith Stern was elected secretary.

The second meeting that followed was attended by active local trade union members and in addition there were representatives of a group of young Germans, nearly all trade unionists. Twenty of them joined the C. P. L. A. right off the bat. The question arose as to whether to organize a separate German branch but the final decision was not to organize the Germans separately but that since there are many Germans who would be interested who could not speak English, they should from time to time have recruiting and educational meetings in German.

A. J. Muste, who was present, enthused all the members by his presentation of the present labor situation and the role of the progressives therein. Those who attended the meeting included machinists, carpenters, painters, government employees, textile, office and jewelry workers.

The Philadelphia branch will plan definite activities immediately with the beginning of the New Year.

While in the Quaker City A. J.

Muste spoke to over 1,000 people at the Labor Institute Forum on "The Southern Campaign as a Crucial Test for the American Labor Movement." He also had a conference with groups interested in workers' education representing the Labor College of Philadelphia, Bryn Mawr Summer School, Socialist Party, C. P. L. A., Women's Trade Union League, Labor Institute, New Students' League, and Industrial Department, Y.W.C.A. The purpose of the conference was to consider the organization of a clearing house for the various workers' education projects so there would not be any overlapping.

The Labor College of Philadelphia is running classes in current events, economics and research. Prof. Jesse H. Holmes and Louis Stanley are the leaders.

III

Further west the chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action had equally encouraging experiences. At Pittsburgh a group of about 25 trade unionists and several University of Pittsburgh professors met and a branch of the C. P. L. A. was formed. The sale of literature and subscriptions to LABOR AGE was very good. At Cleveland a conference with several clergymen and social workers netted a sum of \$1,500 for Marion relief, the amount those present pledged themselves to raise. A similar conference in Pittsburgh resulted in a pledge of an equal amount.

In Detroit, A. J. Muste spoke on "Capitalism in the United States of America, 1929 Model," at the Bethel Evangelical Open Forum. Like the stand taken during the A. F. of L. convention in 1926 when it prevented labor speakers from occupying the local pulpits on Labor Sunday, the Manufacturers' Association got busy again and attempted to keep our chairman off the program. But the church, earnest in its conviction, stood pat, and failed to harken to the demands of Mammon. A. J. Muste spoke.

Perhaps the most significant, and as far as practical C. P. L. A. work is concerned, the most fundamental piece of news that can be related this month is the presence of A. J. Muste at the conference called by the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight-Handlers, Express and Station

Employees. Progressive ideas do not frighten the officers of that militant organization, especially the young and aggressive president, George Harrison, and the far sighted editor, Phil E. Ziegler. So when the General Chairmen met to discuss the problems of the railroad industry that was confronting them, Muste was invited to make a contribution, his specific topic being, "The History and Prospects of the American Labor Movement." A fuller report of this conference will be printed in the February LABOR AGE.

Other meetings he addressed were the conference of young workers in New York City on "Youth and the Shop," the Rand School Forum and the Young Peoples' Socialist League convention on "Prospects for Progressive Laborism" and the League for Industrial Democracy winter conference on "Efforts to Organize the Textile Industry."

To wind up a more than busy month our chairman spent additional time doing work in connection with the Brookwood Extension Department, conducting educational classes in Lancaster and Harrisburg, Pa. At Harrisburg the attendance consisted of more than 60 young women engaged in industry seeking light on their problems.

IV

The local branches already formed continue to grow and to be active. The New York branch held an excellent meeting last month when a discussion on "Labor and the Depression" took place. George Soule, on the editorial staff of the NEW REPUBLIC, and Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, were the discussion leaders. An interested listener, present at the meeting, was the city editor of the BRIDGEPORT HERALD, of Bridgeport, Connecticut, who had heard of the meeting and was coming to learn the truth about our modern industrial situation. "All the papers are in a conspiracy," he said "to maintain silence on unemployment. Our paper wants the facts about the present industrial status and that is why I am here." The BRIDGEPORT HERALD enjoys a circulation of 65,000,

A GLUTTON FOR PUNISHMENT



Drawn for Labor Age by Herbert Heasley.

the largest circulation of any newspaper in the State.

Discussion by those present kept every one in his seat till long after the adjournment hour.

The New York branch also decided to run a theatre benefit, the proceeds to go to LABOR AGE. An active committee, under the chairmanship of Jennie Carliph, has been formed and it is now busy choosing a play. The benefit will probably be held during the early part of February.

The Buffalo branch is to hold a meeting early in January when Tom Tippet on the Brookwood staff, will address it. Florence Adams, the secretary, advises that interest in the Buffalo C. P. L. A. is growing steadily and that New York City had better look to its laurels in the coming months.

The Niagara Falls progressive group, through its Labor Party affiliated with the C. P. L. A., is solidifying its ranks for better work in the Spring, when politics will be a live issue. Meanwhile, they are not forgetting their union activities. The organization of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers is in charge of Brother Harry Daubney and the headway he is making is proof positive that these workers can

be organized. In addition to his other duties Brother Daubney is all worked up about the C. P. L. A. and he goes about his organizing work with a union application blank in one hand and C. P. L. A. literature and subscriptions to LABOR AGE in the other.

The New Haven progressives were treated to an educational evening when David Saposs of the Brookwood staff spoke to them on the prospects of labor in the United States. Dan Hogan, one of the striking textile workers from Marion, N. C., who is now a student at Brookwood, was with him and gave the Connecticut trade unionists a vivid picture of the Southern mill villages. Saposs showed that labor's past history gave every hope of a renewal of militant and aggressive trade unionism in the United States. Early in January the New Haven C. P. L. A. will hold another meeting at which A. J. Muste will speak.

A small C. P. L. A. branch was formed in Bridgeport, Connecticut. While very few attended the meeting which was addressed by Justus Ebert, Editor of the LITHOGRAPHERS' JOURNAL, the response to the call for C. P. L. A. affiliation was 100 per cent.

V

And so the story runs, interest, en-

thusiasm, cooperation everywhere for the C. P. L. A. cause. In the near future many other things, for which plans have been laid, will begin to materialize. Projects for developing educational activities among the steel workers have already been started. There will be more to be said about it a little later.

William Ross, who has been down South all through the trying period of the Marion development, was the only labor representative to be present at the trial of the deputies who were freed of any responsibility for the killing.

He has started educational work in Marion where several classes are now

running. He is doing educational work in several other southern centers.

Another tour is now being planned by Executive Secretary Mufson for the next few months which will take him through the principal cities of New York. Albany, Cohoes, Schenectady, Syracuse, Utica, Rome, Oneida, Watertown, Rochester, Ithaca and Elmira are some of the places he will visit. Several towns in Connecticut will also hear his message of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, during January.

Those desiring dates for C. P. L. A. speakers, should communicate with us at once, and we shall attempt to meet requests to the fullest possible extent.

Our literature department wishes to announce the early publication of three additional pamphlets, *Labor's Share of Production*, *The Gastonia Strike*, and *The Future of Radicalism in America*. Orders for them are accepted now and they will be filled in the order of their receipt.

The two pamphlets thus far published, *The Marion Murder* and *Why a Labor Party*, are still going strong. Several reprints have already been made. They sell for 10 cents each, 6 cents in orders of 25 or over and 5 cents in bundle orders of 100.

Now, altogether, for intensive work for the progressive cause in 1930.

C. P. L. A. Criticism of Green-Hoover Pact

Editorial Comment and Rejoinder

The statement by A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, taking issue with President William Green of the American Federation of Labor for making a peace pact with Hoover not to have labor seek increases in wages, was received with much disapproval by the capitalist press. Both the *New York World* and the *New York Times* commented editorially, the *World* especially dissenting very strongly from Muste's opinion. To give the readers of *Labor Age* the benefit of the views presented, we are reprinting, in part, the original statement of Brother Muste, the editorials of the two papers mentioned above and Mr. Muste's rejoinder.

"If the A. F. of L. leaders are simply saying that it is harder to organize, to win strikes and to raise wages in 'bad times,' they did not need to go to the White House to learn that, and the workers do not need to be told that by their leaders," was A. J. Muste's original statement to the Hoover-Green pact. "By meekly giving assurance that no increases will be sought, the morale and courage of the workers are sapped at the very moment when they may be called upon to fight attempts to cut wages, lengthen hours, and speed up production, and when Southern workers are actually engaged in a bloody conflict to raise their standard of living.

"Labor had a chance to give the White House, and so the nation, a ringing message. . . . Labor could have insisted that on the theories advanced by the President himself there could be no economic stability nor social peace unless the people re-

ceived enough to purchase back what they produced, and that therefore wages must be raised, hours shortened, night work for women and children cut out, child labor eliminated, the right of workers to organize to bargain collectively recognized, and a general system of social insurance against the hazards of sickness, old age and unemployment instituted. Instead of that kind of a message which would have been economically sound and which would have given the workers cause for thought and courage for action, there is a feeble playing into the hands of the speculators and profiteers with an assurance that wage movements will not be initiated."

The *World* took up this challenge with the suggestion that any criticism of the Hoover-Green pact was "captious." Labor could not look for increases, any way, and by promising not to seek them it saved the whole of the President's program for the stabilization of industry, with labor as the chief beneficiaries.

"American working people are fortunate," the editorial concluded, "that their responsible leaders are realists and not doctrinaires."

The *New York Times*, on the other hand, handled the whole matter rather flippantly. It suggested that a truce established between the progressives and the leadership of the A. F. of L. came to an untimely end when Muste criticized Green and "the fat is in the fire again."

Chairman Muste replied to both editorials, making both statements practically similar. But only the *Times* published the letter, which in

part was as follows:

"The serious fact remains, that they (President William Green and members of his committee) made a bad bargain for labor, for many reasons. The promise of employers not to cut wages cannot be enforced. It is possible, though by no means certain as yet, that there will not be a general wage reduction. There are, however, as many ways to reduce wages as there are to skin a cat. Even Mr. Ford, who announces that wages should be increased and that he will raise them, lays off thousands of employes. On the other hand, the psychological effect of telling workers not to seek wage increases—to be very careful not to "rock the boat"—is likely to be to inject fear into them, to lower their morale, at the very time when they may be called upon to resist direct or indirect reductions in pay.

"Such an announcement as was made by the labor leaders is likely to have an unfavorable effect on the organizing campaign in the South, even though a belated press release asserts that the textile workers are not included among those who are advised not to seek wage increases. On what basis can a campaign in the South proceed except that of raising the standard of living all around?

"Furthermore, the wealthier minority of the people received from the government a handsome present by way of tax reduction; that is, an increase in income. The masses of workers, who, of course, do not share in that plum, are for their part advised not to seek wage increases!

A. J. MUSTE."

Flashes from the Labor World

Murder has the approval of the state of North Carolina, if the victims are union men engaged in militant picketing of North Carolina's proudest possession—a cotton mill. Northern labor men have suspected that since the lavish whitewash splashed over the murderers of Ella May Wiggins, the Gastonia union agitator. But she was a Communist! The six union men shot in the back and killed in Marion while fleeing from tear gas were members of the United Textile Workers and therefore of the great, conservative and patriotic American Federation of Labor. But in the Old North State that makes no difference. Whether a union is garbed in red, or in red, white and blue, is immaterial when the profits of cotton mill owners are threatened.

William Ross, Marion strike leader and Federated Press correspondent, summarizes the result of the latest Carolina labor trial in these words: "Mill interests and their hirelings are given a free hand in suppressing labor unrest by violence and murder, in the acquittal at Burnsville of the eight Marion deputies responsible for the massacre of six strikers. Scores of strikers who survived the massacre on the fateful morning of October 2 before the Marion mill gates may now be tried for rioting and sent to the chain gang."

Ross points out the feebleness of Prosecutor Pless' conduct of what would appear to be a clearcut murder case. Deathbed statements were not introduced; no adequate effort was made to bring out the conspiracy of the mill authorities and Sheriff Adkins to commit the outrage; the fact that most of those killed and wounded were shot in the back was not shown conclusively; and the brutal killing of aged James Jonas was soft-pedalled. The Burnsville trial is a measure of the hatred with which energetic organizing campaigns in the South will be met by mill and political authorities.

Never has the case for old age pensions been so exhaustingly and persuasively argued—even if unwittingly—

than by the New York Times during the recent holiday season. In its drive for \$300,000 or more for the 469 neediest cases discovered in the metropolis by various charity agencies, the Times placed eight columns of argument before its readers daily from which they could draw only one conclusion—that while charity may ask temporary relief, justice demands permanent relief for aged workers.

Let no one imagine that the staid old lady of Times Square is advocating old age pensions! Not at all! But in each of the 469 cases, it was clearly brought

The native born laborite is often astonished to be told that there is a vigorous daily labor press in America, represented by a score or more of papers reaching millions of workers day by day with the news of the class struggle. Of such is *Il Nuovo Mondo*, this country's only anti-Fascist Italian language daily, pitted David-like against eight Italian language dailies taking orders from Mussolini. *Il Nuovo* has just started a tabloid edition in New York City, in addition to the regular standard size daily published in Chicago. This courageous little paper is edited and managed large-

ly by men forced to flee Mussolini-land for their lives because of their advocacy of Socialism and unionism. Another labor daily tabloid in New York is the *Volkszeitung*, German language, the oldest labor daily in America with 51 years of continuous service to workers behind it. The *Volkszeitung*, edited by Ludwig Lore, publishes 16 to 20-page editions daily with 40 to 50 pages on Sunday. Industrialist, the sturdy Finnish language paper of Duluth, Minn., published an 80-page holiday edition, standard size, including a fine front page in colors worthy of the best labor art standards. Industrialist is the only daily of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Will H. H. Broach, new president of the Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, succeed to the late James P. Noonan's seat on the A. F. of L. executive council? Broach made quite a reputation for himself in cleaning out the old grafting cliques which ran Local 3 of New York in the interests of their own pocketbooks. It was a hard fight, complicated by the fact that in some other large cities conditions are not very different. Broach was certainly the logical man to step into Noonan's shoes as head of the Electrical Workers, but it is not always the logical man who gets the reward. He is certainly the logical man to advance to the A. F. of L. council, too, which stands badly in need of some of his crusading spirit. But

MARION RELIEF HEADQUARTERS



Photo by Walter Ludwig.

Where clothing shipped to Marion, N. C., for the use of textile strikers is stored and distributed by Hugh Moore, relief representative of the Friends Service Committee (Quakers).

out that the victims were destitute through causes entirely beyond their control. There was the coachman, 80 years old; his occupation swallowed up by the progress of the machine and his body wrecked by exposure of his trade. His wife, 60, suffering from rheumatism, was no longer able to support the old couple by making artificial flowers at \$1.40 a gross.

Even worse is the story of Dora, aged 14. After all, the aged coachman and his wife have nothing left to contribute to society. But charity looks to little Dora to step out—and in a hurry too—to support her parents, both disabled from working. Charity is asked to help the family until the law permits Dora to take the whole job herself within a year. Child slavery, encouraged by charity!

the safe and sane element would undoubtedly prefer an old line building tradesman, from the bricklayers or plasterers unions. Crusading isn't to the taste of the old line labor leaders, who much prefer the gumshoe, the hotel conference and the cut and dried public appearance to the rough and tumble of industrial conflict.

* * *

Talking about building trades affairs brings up the renewed agitation for a national board of jurisdictional awards. The last board died an unnatural death, due to the inveterate warfare of the bricklayers and the plasterers during the Florida boom, which some of Labor Age's bewhiskered readers may remember vaguely. Now that there's a slump in construction work, the bosses are getting eager to settle the interminable rows over jurisdictions between carpenters and sheet metal workers and bricklayers and plasterers, not to mention a dozen other sore spots where different crafts find a border-line of clashing interests in the changing technique of building. But it's just now that the building trades don't give a hang about awards or national boards. There's nothing to scrap about in dull times. So little progress may be expected.

* * *

The warfare between Intl. Pres. John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers and the district officers of the Illinois Miners Union still drags with weary feet through the courts. New levels of blackguardism in labor journalism have been reached by the organs of the respective factions and into the whole dark affair have come the Communists and the Industrial Workers of the World. Illinois mines seem for the present to be a dark and bloody battleground and we await only the entrance of the Socialist Labor Party, the Proletarian Party, the various expelled Communist factions, company unions—already there, by the way—labor spies and others to complete the picture.

* * *

When the red flag flies over the White House—a contingency much feared by Fred Marvin, James M. Beck and the Daughters of the (first) American Revolution—we will rise to nominate one R. E. Kennedy of Houston, Tex. for the Order of the Red Banner, the much-prized honor of the Soviet Union. Kennedy is the stuff from which labor heroes are made, as can easily be seen by perusing this: While an employee of the Lone Star Creamery Co., Kennedy was asked to dig up for the company's 100 per cent Community Chest Club. But he had his own ideas about charity. "There's the gate," said the foreman, but

STANDING FIRM



Photo by Walter Ludwig.

George Stiles and his family on porch of their shack. This striker (man on extreme left) was shot at during the massacre at Marion on October 2, the bullet passing through his coat.

as Kennedy was passing through he noticed that his final paycheck was minus the \$1 deducted for the charity boys.

Demands for the dollar he earned being denied, Kennedy returned two days later with his pistol, aimed it at a company official who, thoroughly frightened, coughed it up. Then our hero was arrested, charged with assault to murder, robbery with firearms and carrying a pistol. The case was carried to the grand jury where the charges were n-billed. Hurrah for R. E. Kennedy!

* * *

Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings are a long way from freedom, despite optimism breathed in the New York World. Miriam Allen deFord, Federated Press correspondent in San Francisco, quotes Fremont Older as depressed by the latest "ghastly delay" in the case, involved in Gov. Young passing the buck to the state pardon board. Young promised nearly a year ago a decision after his summer vacation. The decision came in December, and was another evasion. "What is there to 'study'?", asked Older, editor of the San Francisco Call-Bulletin and powerful champion of Mooney's release, "what is there to 'study' that should take more than two days' time?"

* * *

Another strikebreaker ascends the federal bench for life to mete out even-handed justice between labor and capital. He is Richard J. Hopkins, whose appointment was bitterly contested before the U. S. Senate by the Kansas Federation of Labor. "In order to break the miners' strike in southeastern Kansas in

1920-21 or force our members to return to work," wrote Sec. Howe of the Kansas Federation, "Hopkins, then attorney general, went into Crawford and Cherokee counties and dug up an old vagrancy law that had been on the books for a number of years. He threatened to place our members in jail as 'vags' and in some cases did so. He called on officers of different towns and explained to them that he wanted the vagrancy law enforced, and in one or two small towns officers were forced to resign because they would not enforce the law on good citizens. Men who were born in those counties, men who owned their homes, and had raised their families and were respectable citizens, were to be arrested as vags. . . . With the power of a federal judge we think he would be a dangerous man in so far as our people are concerned."

* * *

The railroad unions are not a bit enthusiastic about the Interstate Commerce Commission's proposal for mergers of existing lines into 21 systems. Their position was placed before the Railway Clerks' organizing conference, held in Cincinnati before the holidays, by Donald Richberg, general counsel for the rail unions. "Our large railroad systems are already too large for efficient operation," he said. "Advocates of consolidation do not seriously claim that substantial economies would result. They only claim better service. But if consolidations increase red tape and bureaucracy, absentee ownership and remote control, the inevitable result will be less efficiency and more costly service."

* * *

Editor Louis Francis Budenz of Labor Age, who manages to keep busy at least 20 hours of the day by serving also as organizer for the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers Federation, has again eluded enemy interference. With the ball tucked securely under his arm he is heading for another touchdown for the union, it appears, in Nazareth, Pa. Nobody ever heard of Nazareth before Budenz was attracted there by the open shop Kraemer Hosiery mill. Then the old story, injunction, yellow dog contracts, police hostility. But Budenz put a new quirk into it when the arms of the law woke up one fine morning to discover themselves arrested! They had been enjoying themselves beating up an 18-year-old girl striker because she called a scab a scab. As usual, of course, plenty of strikers have been arrested on one trumped up charge or another, which put Nazareth smack into the metropolitan press.

HARVEY O'CONNOR.

The March of the Machine

By JUSTUS EBERT

THIS is a new department. Its heading is suggestive of a marching army that leaves nought but destruction in its wake. The analogy is not entirely imaginative. It has some basis in fact. The machine does march on nowadays to the destruction of jobs for workers, and, ultimately, profits and possessions for capitalists.

Leo Wolman, after deducting displaced workers securing jobs in new industries, concludes that, from 1920 to 1927 there was a surplus of 600,000 unemployed technologically created during the years specified. This is an economist's answer to those who believe that machines operating for corporation profits can be introduced indefinitely, without injury to either labor or society. Isn't there in this, as in so many other things, a saturation point? And isn't the saturation already complete; in fact, beginning to run over and threatening to submerge some of "our" institutions, by increasing the gap between output and purchasing power too widely and creating unemployment and other problems of serious import?

Even an army of destruction, though, marches, not only on its belly, but with a sense of humor. As recent war songs amply illustrate this is done partly to make a pleasant job of a dirty one. So with us. We shall endeavor to inject some humor into the paragraphic news of the machine's march that will be featured here. To workers, it's too often a tragic march, but not without opportunity for some irony at the expense of those who believe in its unlimited beneficial progress. To the latter will be addressed our quips and gibes; to others, the news gathered from all possible sources.

The Machine does not march alone. It is accompanied by the Merger. These two are said to have loved out of wedlock. (See Sherman anti-trust law forbidding illegitimate unions of capital.) Anyway, they'd be just as highly esteemed among workers were these rumors found untrue. Machine and Merger, in their illicit mating, begat Group Insurance and he, doubling up with Greedy Employers, begat Age Limit. The result is that the consanguinity thus economically begun and biblically continued has resulted in the whole family being condemned, as

never before. We pity them, but without any modification in the vigorous language generally bestowed upon them and their latest offspring. (Age Limit is a real infant terrible; ask Abraham Epstein, Secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security; he has got the dope on this kid.)

However, our job is with the grandfather of this youngster, the Machine. He's responsible for this malodorous crew. So we hasten to tell of his onward march.

Before we proceed any further, however, let us make plain that, though the machine is destroying jobs we do not advocate the destruction of the machine in turn. On the contrary, we believe in increasing the machine's usefulness, so that society will finally be compelled to own it for the good of all, instead of permitting capitalists to own it for their private profits exclusively, as is now the case, to the injury of all.

To these ends, we invite the cooperation of our readers. Send in all clippings, information and contributions to this department, as the inspiration may incline you to do so.

* * *

The machine age is a marvelous age. Ford's employees will not be hired by other auto companies after 5 years with him. Considering the speed-up, the marvel is that they should like to be hired by any one at all after that period with Ford.

"The machine makes work for labor," so they say. Salt Lake City dispatches describe a cotton picking machine that sucks the cotton through a hose and deposits it in a tank easily removed and transferred to a truck without handling. There are eight hoses on this machine. Each one, operated by a human robot, does the work of six hand pickers. The 42 displaced hand-pickers are free to reflect on the miraculous manner in which work for labor is made by machinery.

* * *

Likewise with auto hand polishers. A new machine is giving them "freedom for reflection." It is being used on bodies. It has an electrically driven sheep wool buffer and gives luster to the body finish. Burnishing the surface of bodies and hoods, it replaces the old process of rubbing and polishing by hand. Installed on either side of the

productory line, it travels with its car to the end of the line, where the finished cars for the market emerge. Two to four men operate this mechanical polisher and it is believed thousands of hand polishers will be displaced when they are generally introduced.

"The machine makes work easy," that's another ancient mariner's yarn that some repeat. A verse from a song sung by Ford workers to the tune of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," illustrates the fact. It goes this way:

"Be swift my mind to another,
and be swifter still my feet!

Be forty different places every time
my heart doth beat!

For the whip that curls above me is,
my family must eat!

Production drives me on."

* * *

Now the brain workers are "in for it," they whose peculiar mental labors could not be performed by a machine; don'tcherknow!

A mechanical device, known as the "business brain" that will do the work of nine-tenths of the office men employed in an institution, is announced in New York.

The machine will simultaneously do the work of a cash register, book-keeping and adding machines, and at another part of the building make a complete record of a sale, according to the inventor.

One bank that has used the machine estimates that it can accomplish its accounting and auditing with eight employees instead of the 67 formerly required.

A group of bankers together with the inventor, have organized a corporation to control the machine, which is covered by world-wide patents.

* * *

One hundred and forty thousand musicians are advertising cultured music in opposition to canned music. They are a reflex of the fact that the machine knows neither skill, mental ability, nor art, only to destroy both. Their warfare against the machine makes obvious that they who can really say, "The machine can't touch me; my occupation is exceptional," grow fewer and fewer in its onward march. This is a warning to those who still claim immunity from mechanical displacement, and so claiming, refuse sympathy and solidarity to those already affected by it.

Santa Visits Marion

By W. WALTER LUDWIG

IT is Christmas Sunday evening in Marion. The holiday spirit is unmistakably in the air. Before the county courthouse stands a stately evergreen, brilliantly lighted "by the power company," the waiter informs me with a touch of civic pride.

At the churches "white gift" services are being conducted today. Hundreds of gifts brought by the worshippers are heaped about the altars and tomorrow will be distributed under the supervision of the Chamber of Commerce to the county's poor. Tonight at one of the churches a white robed choir affirmed in cantata the coming of the "Prince of Peace." I thought of six snow covered graves across the valley. To Marion?

With Hugh Moore, director of relief for the Friends Service Committee, whose car had broken down, I tramped through the snow to the mill village of East Marion. I found an elemental joy in wading into the storm, feeling the snow drive into my face. It covered things equally, comfortable Marion behind us and the mill workers' homes looming

ahead, gray against glistening white. Hadn't this Jesus about whom they were singing in the churches said something about the rain falling alike on the just and the unjust? If only North Carolina justice were equally impartial! Eight deputies accused of murder are free, home with their families tonight. Merry Christmas! But what of Cora Hall and old Mrs. Jonas? And the strikers sentenced to six months on the roads? Merry —? . . . The snow beats into my face. It too is cold. Like Justice. But fair. . . .

At the commissary Roy Price, president of the local union, joins us and we stamp off in final search of a place where the Christmas party of the strikers' children can be held tomorrow afternoon. The school and one of the churches have been approached and refused. We appeal to the clerk of the Baptist church which had summarily dismissed ten members on strike. "It's either your building or a Christmas party in the snow." He will let us know tomorrow morning at the company store.

Monday morning. Stacks of col-



Photo by Walter Ludwig.

One of the Marion strikers' children who enjoyed a Merry Christmas when he received his gift from Pioneer Youth.

orful toys have invested with a holiday air the little cabin used as a clothing dispensary. The toys, more than 2,500 of all sizes and varieties, have been sent from the shops and clubs of Pioneer Youth of America, an organization of workers' children in Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia. For a month these children have been repairing, painting, and making the toys. Their appeal for playthings brought donations from clubs of business and industrial girls of the Y. W. C. A., from the Saturday School of the First Presbyterian Church, New York City, from a Baptist church in Cleveland, from two Socialist Sunday Schools in Brooklyn, and from other interested individuals and organizations.

Jimmy, a nine year old, sidled up to me as I was unpacking a huge case from Philadelphia. "That's what I want," he said, pointing to a toy dump truck. The truck I afterwards learned had been given by George, a Pioneer Youth club member whose father, a member of the United Textile Workers, had himself been on strike last summer. "I've been a-wanting one of them a long time," Jimmy hinted. I watched him manipulate the truck and marvelled that he knew exactly how it worked. That night, hurrying to my train, I saw the identical truck in a hardware store window in town. Plainly Jimmy's nose with that of a half dozen other "mill kids" had at some time

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TOYS FOR MARION KIDDIES



Philadelphia members of Pioneer Youth hard at work making, painting and decorating gifts for Southern strikers' children.

In Other Lands

COMPROMISE IN BRITAIN

All parties won victories on the coal mine, pension and social legislation as well as on foreign affairs. The explanation for this paradox of politics and class cleavage in parliament is in the fact that in the art of compromise none can equal the British and in the game of face-saving few can play it with the skill and astuteness of the London parliamentarians.

First, the government swept all before it at The Hague and at Washington. But then Lloyd George, Churchill and Baldwin of the opposition supported Snowden in the dubious policy of stripping Germany to the bone and the victory is as much their's as Labor's. If Baldwin and George wished to repudiate Snowden and overthrow MacDonald on the mining question or any other important bill nothing could have been easier for them but they were scared into timidity and irresolution and did not risk the inevitable sequel to a Labor defeat—a general election with the curses of the middle classes who pay most of the taxes and have the deciding vote in most city constituencies.

The Tories did not want the coal bill, and nothing could be more distasteful to the Liberals. Both groups combined to make the legislation as innocuous as possible by a series of maneuvers and bluffs in the course of which the ministers were frightened into keeping their labor bills moderate and acceptable to the capitalists. Hours of labor were cut by a half-hour a day with the coal barons retaining the right to cut wages in proportion though promising not to do so. Cook, no longer Emperor, but compliant and adaptable to MacDonald's policies, was satisfied with the bill.

To prevent future dissension in the party a caucus or committee of the whole met in one of the rooms of the House of Commons and at that meeting MacDonald promised the Lefts that the legislation was only the beginning and was in no sense a settlement of the troubles of the miners or the unemployed. Having asked that there be no more open rebellion within the party and after giving a sketch of the government's difficulties, MacDonald was given what amounts to carte blanche endorsement and a vote of confidence. When the mines bill was up for reading again it was approved but a clever bit of play acting was indulged in by the leading Liberals and Tories. They opposed on principle and on its defects but enough

of them stayed away from the division lobby to allow MacDonald to have a majority. This was a demonstration of negative force and a sign that they do not want the expense and trouble of a general election as yet.

The unemployed question continues to plague the government. This is the most aggravating of all since MacDonald won the election mainly on that issue. Old age pensioners and widows will get a trifle

tion in the shipyards ended the longest strike in the history of Britain. It was confined to Belfast and tied up building for several months. They won substantially the increase demanded but this may lead to trouble in the Scotch and English yards as the gains do not apply to them.

The Daily Herald is now under new management and control. After a careful review of the official organ of the Trade Union Congress one finds little difference between the old and the new and this includes a month's issues. William Mellor, the old editor, is retained and though there may have been a change in the other members of the staff one does not notice it. Mellor is enthusiastic in his praise of the new departure. He speaks well of Oldhams, the eminent printers and publishers, with whom the old Herald joined in a new corporation. Just why that change had to be made is not clear. Perhaps it gives the paper a better standing in the business world. Mellor denies in toto all the allegations and rumors that were circulated regarding the control or the alleged change in policy by the enemies and dubious friends of the party and the paper.

Full recognition between the Soviet and Britain was sealed when the ambassadors of both countries almost simultaneously presented their papers to the proper authorities in Moscow and London.

More embarrassing than Russia or China to Britain is the great election victory of the Nationalist Party in Egypt. They were opposed to the treaty advocated by Henderson giving new status to Cairo.

STIMSON BACKS DOWN

Secretary of State Stimson who handles our foreign affairs no sooner starts a negotiation with another nation than he is plagued with the contradictions and absurdities of his own policies. He sent a peace appeal to Russia and China and got a violent snub from the Soviet. He tries naval reductions and mild disarmament only to raise a hornets' nest everywhere. Britain will not concede freedom of the seas or any of the things he thought it would. He and his government turned to Haiti and sent marines down to the French-African republic to restore law and order only to be met with a howl of indignation all over the country and a veritable crescendo of diplomatic catcalls all over the world. This resulted in the administration backing down as gracefully as it could. Beside making Stimson ludicrous in the eyes of the diplomatic

(Continued on page 29)

QUICK CHANGE ARTIST



As Hungerford in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette sees Uncle Sam in peace and war.

more money and the out-of-works will draw a couple of shillings more dole and with less trouble but it remains the same old pest as the economists of all opinions pointed out.

One doubts if much glory will be gained by the naval conference for the government seems to have receded from the high and idealistic stand taken by MacDonald in Washington. There may be no freedom of the seas, no free passage for food ships and no neutrality in time of war. The ministers are willing to abandon the dreadnaught for the simple reason the country does not need them. MacDonald will fight for the outlawing of the submarines, a cheap and destructive form of naval warfare, which is more dangerous to Britain than to any other nation. The French and Italians and indeed all the small nations will not yield on the submarine. Other complex questions will be added to the submarine and all told may lead to an impasse.

The Woodworkers who hold a key posi-



"Say It With Books"



POST-WAR EDUCATION IN RUSSIA AND GERMANY

The New Education in the Soviet Republic by Albert P. Pinkevitch, The John Day Co., \$4.

The New Education in the German Republic by Thomas Alexander and Beryl Parker. The John Day Co., \$4.

BOTH of these bulky volumes on post-war education are significant from the point of view of tendencies of progressive education in two of the countries effected most by the World-War—Russia, the economically and educationally backward country and Germany, the economically and educationally advanced. The volume on Germany is a simple and comprehensive treatment of the transformation of mass education in a majority of the German schools in place of the national regimentalized schools. Those interested in many of the new manifestation of education such as the Youth Movement, School Journeys, Country Schools, and various other aspects of progressive educational tendencies or movements, will find the volume instructive. Far more interesting and significant is the companion volume on Russia by Dr. Albert P. Pinkevitch, President of the Second State University of Moscow.

The economic and political upheaval in Russia was followed by an educational revolution of universal significance not only because of its magnificent scope but also because of the thoroughgoing manner in which it is being attempted. Despite our opposition to the Communist philosophy and especially to the antics of American communists in unions, American teachers and labor leaders give full consideration to the greatest educational revolution in history which is being conducted with 150 millions of

people in an area covering one-sixth of the world's surface.

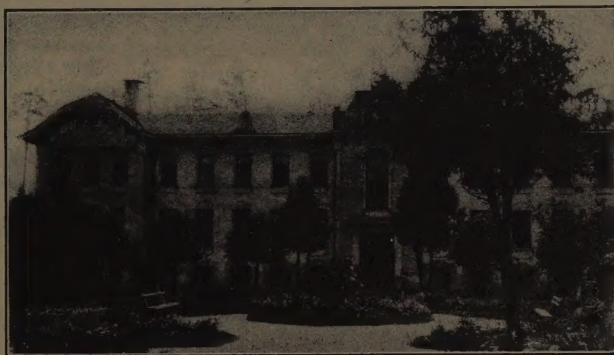
With a brutality that is refreshing in its frankness, the author conceives of education as a class instrument of the state to be used to mould a collective social order in place of a capitalist one by developing class-conscious warriors of the proletariat. Hence we find the Russian educators eagerly seeking light on the best methods of achieving the

comprehensive and real use of self-government, their integrated curriculum, built around production as a process rather than as conceived by Dewey—as socially useful labor; the close relation of their schools to the life of the community; their complete modification of the Dalton Plan to which they objected because it stressed individuality and made impossible investigation, interpretation and exploration so essential to

their concept of education. With their propagandist concept of education they hope to root out all capitalistic bias and build a new communist society. Their teaching is organized about human labor, their teacher acting not as a leader or director but as an organizer. Their organizing method gives reality and concreteness to what they do. Russian education is a challenge to educators of the world and they would do well to meet it.

A. LEFKOWITZ.

A RUSSIAN SCHOOL



Where homeless children are taught according to "The New Education," and where through committees they run the entire institution, in the suburbs of Moscow.

ends they have in view. The author shows how carefully they have sought to master the best educational thought and techniques, and how they are applying their knowledge on a scale limited only by their financial resources. Only blind optimism or class-conscious fatalism could be the inspiration of this impressive movement so significant to the leaders of education the world over. Russia is the world's economic, political and educational laboratory and her experiments deserve the thoughtful and impartial consideration of the world's best and most progressive educational thinkers.

Prof. Pinkevitch stresses the Russian educators' propagandist concept of education, the freedom of their pupils; their

"Profound" Economics

Economic Democracy, by S. Brookings. The Macmillan Company.

TO those who are familiar with the high standard of excellence and scholarship of the publications that have appeared under the auspices of the Brookings Institute, the book by Robert S. Brookings, its founder, entitled "Economic Democracy," is a keen disappointment. It has neither scholarship, balance nor continuity. It typifies a somewhat liberal and enlightened Polyanna concept of our economic life. It contains a few liberal sentiments concerning labor but in reality is a glorification of Big Business and Hoover prosperity.

Mr. Brookings thinks that America has

established economic democracy because the American workers participate in the management and profits of industry through the "saving wage" which is an American policy. This saving wage enables our workers to protect themselves against injury, sickness, unemployment and old age. We owe this economic democracy, according to Mr. Brookings, not so much to our wealth of natural resources or labor productivity as to our protective tariff, mass production and restricted immigration! In view of the fact that less than 10 per cent of our workers or people enjoy this "saving wage" and the economic heaven it brings, what about the other 90 per cent? For instance, the workers sweating in the mines of Illinois or West Virginia? What about the thousands in the textile and steel mills of America where they are earning the "saving wage" of \$12 to \$20 on which they cannot even save their breath? What about the thousands supported by charity and those who, after a life of back-breaking and useful toil, cannot provide for their old age?

To show the superiority of capitalist production based upon competition over socialism and communism (which he sweetly lumps together) Mr. Brookings assumes that socialism means no remuneration for increased production and hence economic inefficiency and stagnation as in Russia. How easily Mr. Brookings overlooks the fact that the Russian Communist Dictatorship has achieved more, without foreign help, than capitalistic Poland under the Dictatorship of Pilsudski or Italy under Fascist Mussolini.

Mr. Brookings then contrasts his erroneous economic assumptions about socialism and the false conclusions he draws therefrom, not with the results achieved by typical competitive capitalism with its waste, inefficiency and destructive effects upon production but with the capitalism of Henry Ford and his \$7 a day minimum! as though Henry represented the typical capitalism of Big Business. Need we say more about this profound and well-meaning contribution to the solution of America's economic problems?

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

Another Disappointing Cure-all

The Labor Banking Movement in the United States, Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University Press, 377 pages, \$2.50.

THE philosophy of pure and simple trade unionism of the American Federation of Labor is bound to create excessive enthusiasm for strange ventures

which could not grow out of a well rounded and co-ordinated labor movement. Balked in their opportunities for advancement because of the limited interests of orthodox trade unionism, groups and individuals, now and again, taking advantage of their high position and acting on dream distortions, will proclaim panaceas as labor's saviors, which while in themselves not harmful and sometimes useful, become ridiculous and even dangerous because of the unrelated value given their worth.

So within the past decade, three developments have come to curse labor, which could have been blessings, if there had been a labor movement wide enough to find a proper niche for each, but which is almost ruining whatever labor movement there is. The three are labor banking, union-management cooperation and union insurance. Since the present volume reviewed deals with labor banking, the two other features must wait evaluation until some individual or institution makes similar studies of them.

We can still remember the hubbub created by Warren S. Stone's saving singers about the virtues of labor banking. The optimistic footnotes ran something like this: Labor, through the control of the masses' collective savings, will control credit. Through this control of credit labor will withhold loans to unfair employers and deal kindly with union employers. Thus every non-union industry will be forced to recognize collective bargaining to save itself.

"The Labor Banking Movement in the United States" sounds taps on this beautiful dream. In a volume that should be commended for its thoroughness, a comprehensive picture is given of labor's venture into the field of finance, and though it is exciting it is neither glorious nor enviable. The high hopes held out, the forgotten pledges, the strife and jealousies this new activity engendered, the downright dishonesty and naked stupidity the movement disclosed, the lack of solidarity of labor it uncovers, all make the volume valuable not only for an understanding of the particular subject but of the ingredients of the whole labor movement. Reading it one cannot help but wonder upon the paucity of organized labor and its movement.

Labor banking is but a symbol of American cupidity and American gullibility. It is an outstanding illustration of the weakness of a movement that has no other philosophy than that of "get-rich-quick Wallingford." It is an eloquent testimonial to the arid intellect of pure and simple trade unionism.

ISRAEL MUFSON.

A Bird's Eye View of Industrial Psychology

Industrial Psychology, edited by Prof. Charles S. Myers, 252 pp., New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1929, \$1.

THIS is one of the newest volumes in the series called Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, edited in England, and written by authorities in their respective fields. Prof. Charles S. Myers is director of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in England. He is the foremost scientific expert on techn-psychology and vocational guidance among the English-speaking nations.

The present volume contains an introduction, this volume, as a source of which is a rounded-off contribution, by well-informed authors, to the wide field which embraces the interrelation and interaction of the mental and bodily activities of the human being. This, in a nutshell is the subject-matter of Industrial Psychology. Of particular interest and timeliness are the essays entitled "Ease and Speed of Work," "Work and Environment," and "The Economic Aspects of Industrial Psychology." The editor is fully justified in writing "that he knows of no other similar volume in which the principles and methods of Industrial Psychology are sketched in such clear and readable language." It is far less technical and more attractive than Prof. Myers's well-known book "Industrial Psychology in Great Britain" which however, is valuable to those readers in whom the study of the book under review would stimulate the desire to learn further details in regard to certain chapters.

For orientation purposes, that is to say, as an introduction into an important, pressing and wide subject, this book is highly useful, if not indispensable. Considering its fine, legible type, neat cloth binding, convenient size, and relatively low price, this volume, as a source of ever demanded information, deserves a place on every intelligent worker's bookshelf.

H. F.

The joyful prophecy printed on page 13 was made by William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, on January 1, 1929.

SANTA VISITS MARION

(Continued from Page 25)

pressed against the window, admiring toys which his parents could never buy.

They laughed when I announced that Jimmy had spoken for the truck. "Wild kid," somebody said. "Maybe it will keep him at home." Jimmy, it seems, runs away from home. His last escapade was to Ashville where he was found and returned by the Salvation Army and given four days in jail for delinquency by Marion justice.

At the party that afternoon Roy Price told me as he looked into the faces of his people, 500 of whom crowded into the church building which had been given without reservation, "I'm proud of this. Nobody knows how proud I am. Some of the school teachers told our children that Santa Claus won't come to see you this year." Santa was there all right in the person of 50-year old Dell Lewis, one of those sentenced to six months on the roads for rioting. And there was a Christmas tree, not so fine as the one by the courthouse but cut and decorated by the strikers themselves.

After the Christmas carols there were talks by Hugh Moore and William Ross, and a brief presentation of the toys in behalf of the children of Pioneer Youth and their friends. Winifred Wildman and Betty Fowler, social worker and nurse for the Friends committee, supervised the distribution of the toys and treats of nuts, candy, and fruit. Every family received its quota and those who couldn't come had theirs delivered the next day.

Who said "there ain't no Santa Claus?" To Marion strikers and their families he's a lot more real and more friendly than a statuesque and hoodwinked lady called justice.

IN OTHER LANDS

(Continued from Page 26)

world it revealed that two big New York banks and the United Fruit Company were the real overlords of the little nation. It also showed that the banks through our marines were interfering in a most outrageous manner in the internal affairs of Haiti and planning to get control of some of the richest lands in the state in violation of the Haitian constitution. The development has been a lucky one for the weak West Indian and Central American republics for it created a precedent in that Uncle Sam backed down.

The visit of the new President of Mexico marks a change in Latin-American relations with this country. If anything it also reflects a closer accord between the financial and industrial interests of the two republics. It further means that European nations will not be wanted.

MOSCOW AND CHINA

The signing of the treaty between Mukden and Moscow reveals that Moscow won

a sweeping victory and that Manchuria yielded on most points of the dispute. China protested in vain but Mukden settled without it though the treaty may be formally submitted to the next central government for ratification just to give it a sort of legal standing in international law.

China of late spelled nothing but chaos. It will take years to get any kind of order established especially as the imperialist nations want the country divided or at loggerheads so that they could ret. in their special concessions and trade graft.

ITALY QUILTS BLUFFING

The dissolution of the Fascisti in this country means that Italy is slowly receding from her imperialist bluff. Rome's finances are in a hopeless muddle. Italy is creating all the trouble possible in Hungary and Jugo-Slavia and in general playing the madcap of the Balkans. Despite everything one sees the handwriting on the wall. American visitors, even those who are of the conservative bent, say things are deplorable all over Italy.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN.

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